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· PREFACE

I feel happy to place the present volume (ninth in the series) in the hands of the readers, historians and research scholars. This volume contains valuable documents and correspondence covering the period April to July 1948, when Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the Congress President as also the President of the Constituent Assembly. The correspondence is, therefore, of historical significance.

Along with the country, the Punjab had been partitioned into West Punjab and East Punjab and during the period covered by this volume, the problem of East Punjab had become difficult politically. The Ministry in the East Punjab had to be reconstituted with the Akali Party being asked to join hands with the Congress in forming the Government in the State. Letters reproduced at serial Nos. 6, 11, 12, 37 and 228 throw significant light on this episode.

The Congress was committed to reorganisation of the States (earlier known as Provinces) on linguistic basis—although in retrospect this does not appear to be a right thing to do. However, this work of reorganising the States had also been taken in hand during this period.

Bengal too had been partitioned in 1947 and in West Bengal also the Ministry had to be reconstituted in 1948 under the leadership of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. The readers will find Dr. Rajendra Prasad's advice and guidance given in this connection to Dr. Roy and other West Bengal leaders in his capacity as Congress President both interesting and educative.

There is a misconception among our countrymen that the differences between Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Hindu Code Bill had surfaced only after Dr. Rajendra Prasad became the President of India. This was not so; the fact was that the Hindu Code Bill had been brought for consideration before the Constituent Assembly (Legislature) as early as in April 1948 and Dr. Prasad had opposed the consideration and passage of this Bill by the Constituent Assembly on the ground that it had been elected and constituted specifically for framing the Constitution of free India and had been converted into a legislative body with the limited purpose of taking care of day-to-day legislative measures till a duly elected Parliament of Independent India based on universal adult franchise was constituted. Dr. Prasad was, therefore, of the view that such a body was not competent to consider and pass a social legislation of such great significance and importance which when passed would vitally affect the lives of the members of the majority community of the country. He expressed his views in a note which he sent to the Prime Minister with the request that it be read at the meeting of the Congress Assembly Party when the Hindu Code Bill comes up for discussion. The note is reproduced below:

The Bill codifying the Hindu Law is now before the Constituent Assembly sitting as Legislature. Apart from the merits of the measure there are certain aspects which require consideration. The Bill embodies the recommendations of a Committee which went round the country and recorded evidence. That evidence is overwhelmingly against many of the most important recommendations of the Committee. It is true that the progressive elements in the country have supported it but the entire population will be affected by its drastic provisions which introduce fundamental changes in the personal law of the Hindus as it has been prevalent in the different parts of the country. There is a large section which under the same law is governed in many matters by a customary law. That section is equally affected by the Bill. The question is whether the present Constituent Assembly, sitting as the Central Legislature, combining the functions both of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, should take up and pass such a controversial measure to which very large sections of the people directly affected are opposed. As stated above, the evidence recorded by the Committee, whose report is the basis of this Bill, was overwhelmingly against its most important proposals. The Bill has not been circulated for public opinion by the Assembly. The Bill was taken up on 9-4-1948. That day happened to be the last day of the session and that hour was practically the last hour of the session. As was to be expected, it was referred to a Select Committee, which has met and whose report may come up before the next session of the Assembly, commencing on the 9th August. The Assembly too is hardly competent to deal with such a fundamental matter. It was elected for the special purpose of framing the Constitution of India and naturally the electorate had only the framing of the Constitution before it, when it elected its representatives. By a make-shift arrangement, the Assembly so elected has been converted into a Legislature, combining in it the functions both of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, thus doing away with such safeguard as a second chamber may provide against hurried and hasty legislation. The matter is of fundamental importance to everyone who is governed by the Hindu Law. It substitutes, for the concepts and the reasons underlying that law, new concepts and new ideas which are not only foreign to Hindu Law but may cause disruption in every family. Such a proposal has never been placed before the electorate, which has never had an opportunity to express itself on it. Whatever discussion on the merits of the measure has taken place will, on an analysis, be found to consist of progressive elements being in favour and the vast bulk of the Hindu mass opposed to it.

No serious or widespread effort appears to have been made to educate and instruct the masses of people in favour of the proposed measure. Its passage, therefore, will be tantamount to forcing a measure of a most fundamental character, introducing basic changes in their personal law, on the Hindus in furtherance of the progressive ideas of a small if not a

microscopic minority, and all this is to be done without reference to the electorate and by a Legislature which is competent only for drawing a Constitution but not elected with a view to effecting amendments in the personal law of the largest community in the country.

There is, besides, no such urgency about the matter. The Hindus have put up with their personal law for a long time and may well wait till the new Constitution comes into force. It is not a long way off when the electorate may be given a chance by the parties participating in the election to express itself on it.

The Assembly will be taking a great responsibility in passing such a measure in the circumstances stated above.

Rajendra Prasad
31.7.48

A number of letters were exchanged between the then Prime Minister and Dr. Rajendra Prasad on this subject even before and after the aforesaid note. These letters can be seen at serial Nos. 201, 205, 214, 224 and 232.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad had very clear views on the Hindu Code Bill both regarding its basic objectives and the constitutional points involved. He was a person who would take up a position on any issue only on the basis of solid and correct arguments after giving chance to others to be convinced about it. He did not believe in stereotyped arguments. This was the reason that once he decided to follow a line of action after full consideration he never looked back or abandoned the chosen path whatever the difficulties.

The correspondence of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, whatever the subject, was always above controversy. Even controversial matters he dealt in a simple way and style characteristic of him. As a result even his opponents used to become his friends and admirers and expressed their respect and regard for him.

The arrangement of the correspondence and other documents in the volume follows the pattern of the preceding volumes. Correspondence—Part I includes letters written by or written to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, while Correspondence—Part II contains letters exchanged between others, copies of which were sent to him for information, advice and action. Other miscellaneous documents of contemporary importance have been given in the Appendices.

This volume is a living story of how and in what way the various political, socio-economic and constitutional issues were sorted out and solved by Rajendra Babu. I present the volume to the readers with the hope and faith that it will be a source of inspiration to coming generations. I shall feel fully rewarded for my labour if the readers also feel the same way after going through this volume.

VALMIKI CHOUDHARY

A-119 Pandara Road
New Delhi-110003
2nd October 1987

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CORRESPONDENCE

PART I

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1 April 1948

My dear [Rajendra Babu,]

Krishna Ballabh Sahay was here and gave me your letter. I do not know what really the matter is. But Sardar Patel, [Maharaja of] Darbhanga and Sultan Ahmed—all three of them—had told me that a deputation had called on you and you had promised them that they would be given a chance to clarify their point of view as regards the Bihar Zamindari Bill. If it is really so, they should be given a chance.

You are right in your view that it would be going against popular opinion to stall the Bill now. This should be passed in the Assembly. Krishna Ballabh Sahay was informed accordingly. But there is no harm if, at an opportune time, the deputation of the Bihar Zamindars is given a chance to finally express its views. Krishna Ballabh Sahay had agreed that they may come on 5 April and be heard. But perhaps this date will not be suitable as you may not be able to find time at such short notice. But some date in the 2nd or 3rd week of April, as may suit you, can be fixed. Hope you are perfectly all right. Twice I tried to speak to you over the telephone but probably you were not at home.

Abul Kalam Azad

*See facsimile of the original letter in Urdu (facing page 4).

2. *To Hiralal Bose*

Bajajwadi

Wardha

2 April 1948

HIRALAL BOSE
CALCUTTA

TELEGRAM RECEIVED MAY INCLUDE MY NAME AS SIGNATORY INVITATION
LETTER

RAJENDRA PRASAD

3. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Calcutta

2nd April 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have received your letter today written from Wardha. I am going to Delhi tomorrow and I hope to meet you there. I am sending you a copy of a letter which I have received from Assam which will speak for itself.* This language question will

be a difficulty but we must sit down and solve it. I propose to talk to Mr. Bardoloi when I see him on the 13th of April. Meanwhile, if you can give him your suggestions it would be very good. The Bengali-speaking areas should be allowed to have Bengali, being their mother tongue, as the language in the primary stages. If they insist upon two languages being taught in the early years of their life, it would be difficult for them to manage it.

Yours sincerely,
B.C. Roy
Chief Minister, Bengal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

*See letter from T.N. Mallik to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, dated 29th March 1948, in Correspondence—Part II, Volume 8.

4. From Kiran Sankar Roy

Calcutta
2nd April 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

I have seen the letter you have written to Dr. B.C. Roy.

You are perhaps not aware that though my family belongs to East Bengal, we have been in Calcutta for two generations or more. I myself have been born and educated here. As a matter of fact, though our connection with our own native village had been intimate, I have not seen any other part of East Bengal till I joined the Congress in 1920. My field of activities also, though it comprised the whole of Bengal, has been Calcutta. I was always elected from an Eastern Bengal constituency. So, when the partition took place, I decided that I should remain in East Bengal for the purpose of carrying on constitutional opposition against the Muslim League Government. This decision of mine was arrived at against the wishes of my colleagues in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. However, my experience in East Bengal has brought me to this conclusion that there is very little room for constitutional opposition in East Bengal. The Government there is either unwilling or unable to give any protection to the minorities. The minority there is living under three Governments—(1) Nazimuddin Government, (2) Muslim League organisation, (3) Muslim National Guards cum hooligans, the last being the most powerful. Among the Government officials the key positions are held by Punjab Muslims who are communal and vindictive. Besides, there is an economic boycott which has practically destroyed the professional middle-class and also the businessmen. A large percentage of middle-class people and even the poorer classes who could afford to leave have either left or [are] leaving. The situation, as far as I could judge, has deteriorated and will deteriorate in view of the customs barriers, prospect of passport, and different currency. In view of all these, mere appeal to the Hindus of East Bengal not to leave their hearths and homes will be of no avail. On the one side, the India Government cannot promise

دہلی ۱- اپریل ۱۹۴۸ء

میں سر کرشن دہمپہا کے بیان آئے اور آپ کا فطر دیا گیا
میں نہیں جانتا کہ اصل واقعہ کیا ہے لیکن مجمع سے سردار پٹیل (دھنگرا)
اور سلطان احمد شینوں صاحبوں نے کہا تھا کہ ایک ڈسپوٹیشن آگیا جس
آگیا تھا اور آپ ان سے وعدہ کیا تھا کہ بیار زمینداروں کو بل کالست
انہیں رکھا تو جمع دیا جائیگا کہ اپنا موقع خال واقعہ کر دیں۔ اگر واقعی
ایسا ہوا ہے تو انہیں ایک موقع دینا چاہیے۔
اچھی یہ رائے درست ہے کہ اب بل کو روکنا صلیک کے خلاف
ہوگا اسے اسلی میں منظور ہو جانا چاہیے۔ چنانچہ میں بات کر رہا ہوں
ہاں جب سے کہہ رہی تھی لیکن اس میں کوئی حربہ مملوع نہیں ہوتا کہ
کئی موقع پر بیار کے زمینداروں کے ڈسپوٹیشن کو اپنے آخری حالات
تک پہنچانے کا موقع دیدیا جائے کہ کرشن دہمپہا نے اس پر آمادہ
تھا ہر کی تھی کہ وہ۔ اپریل کو وہ آجائیں اور ڈسپوٹیشن سے ملاقات
کری جائے لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ تاریخ موزوں نہیں ہوگی کیونکہ

مطلوبہ نہیں، اس قدر جلد آپ وقت نکال سکیں گے یا نہیں ؟
کیونکہ اپریل کے دوسرے یا تیسرے ہفتے کی گورنارنچ جو آپ کے لیے
موزوں ہو قرار دے جاسکتی ہے ۔

امید ہے کہ اب آپ کی طبیعت بالکل درست ہوگی ۔
میں نے دو مرتبہ کوشش کی کہ آپ کے فون پر کال کر دوں مگر
غائب آپ مکان پر موجود نہ تھے ۔

انوار علی

to give them any protection in East Bengal and on the other they expect no protection from the Pakistan Government. In these circumstances, exodus is inevitable. In view of all these, I found I would be useless in East Bengal but might be of some service even to people of East Bengal from here. I suppose this was also the reason of Sri Jairamdas Doulatram and other friends of West Punjab and Sind deciding to serve the Indian Dominion rather than remain ineffective in Pakistan. I resigned from Pakistan Constituent Assembly as well as Eastern Bengal Legislative Assembly before I joined the West Bengal Cabinet. Before I made my decision I also consulted a large number of Congress workers of Eastern Bengal. I can tell you that though the opinion was not unanimous, most of the important Congressmen supported my decision. Sri Jut Kshitindra Nath Chowdhury of Rajshahi was one of the persons who were in favour of my joining West Bengal Cabinet. Therefore, I was not a little surprised to find him writing to you in that strain. I intend to discuss this matter with him again.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Kiran Sankar Roy
Home Department
Government of West Bengal

Babu Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

5. From Mridula Sarabhai

CONFIDENTIAL

94 Upper Mall
Lahore
3rd April 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

The recent development in Congress politics in East Punjab, if, as appears in newspaper reports, is true, then I feel I would be betraying the Congress if I did not place before you the information that I have regarding some facts.

Since the 15th of August, a section of Sikh leaders, belonging to the fanatical political group of the Sikhs, have been playing a role as to remind one of the Muslim League tactics from 1937. The Congress-Akali Party coalition in the Government of East Punjab was bad enough. The present move of merging the Akali Party in the Congress is fraught with grave dangers. It appears that they will function as an informal group within the Congress and try to vitally influence its politics.

I was surprised at the appointment of Sardar Dilip Singh Kang as the Congress

Assembly Party's Secretary, after the Akali Party had merged itself in the Congress Party. The antecedents of Sardar Dilip Singh Kang are so shady and anti-national, and his behaviour as a District Liaison Officer was so bad, that his present appointment has caused not only resentment, but also gives an indication of the morals which the Party is going to maintain and the values for which it will stand.

During the disturbances, he was appointed as District Liaison Officer in Lyallpur. He was in charge of mass evacuation. His behaviour as a District Liaison Officer needs thorough investigation. Allegations against him are so serious that often the attention of the East Punjab Government was drawn to take steps for enquiry against him. Even the Chief Liaison Officer of the East Punjab Government had dismissed him, but this order was not carried out due to orders from above.

If the Congress investigates into this and can get the relevant papers, I am sure you will agree with me that he is not fit to be called a Congressman and be put in charge of a responsible party.

This is an illustration because it gives an indication of what compromise the Congress Group in power is making to get the cooperation of the Akali Party. I met Dr. Lehna Singh last week in Lahore. As a General Secretary of the East Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, I asked him whether the appointment of Sardar Dilip Singh Kang was a fact and how was it that such a man could be appointed the Secretary of the whole Party, when there were serious allegations against him. Dr. Lehna Singh told me that the choice was left to the Akali Party and whatever names they gave had to be taken! This gives an inside [view] of what the merging of the Party means.

If the status of the Punjab had been like that of any other Province, I would not have taken an interest in its politics. But East Punjab, unfortunately for us, has now become the Frontier of India. It has no healthy politics. It will take some time before the Punjab can regain its own personality and its own leadership. To allow the present local politicians to mould its politics in the name of the Congress is just allowing these forces to play havoc with not only the life of the Punjab, but the life of the whole of India, and therefore this letter to you.

I know that the politics of the Punjab is causing anxiety to you and you are giving your special attention. Yet if I write, I hope you will not misunderstand me.

If we do not check the Sikh politics at this stage, I am afraid, in ten years we will find this minority not only becoming a thorny problem in our national life, but dominating our politics.

One way of checking it is to radically change the rehabilitation policy of the Government of India. Allowing East Punjab the right to rehabilitate the West Punjab refugees only, will result in their playing an important part in our Frontier policy and Defence policy and holding a monopoly of Frontier defence by the Sikhs.

The Government of India is scrupulously keeping to its agreement of not to

resettle other refugees in East Punjab, but the East Punjab authorities, as is well known, is, in a subtle manner, creating a situation in which the West Punjab refugees are becoming a liability on the Government of India, and the Government of India is forced to rehabilitate them wherever it is possible to do so in India. You are aware of these problems and, therefore, I need not go into details. I do strongly feel that rehabilitation on the Frontier Districts of East Punjab, that is, the whole of Jullundur Division of East Punjab, must include refugees from other Provinces. For example, Pathans (Hindus and Sikhs) and others who are used to Frontier life should be allowed and given facilities to rehabilitate in this area. Then only will the ambitions of the anti-progressive forces be curbed or be kept under control.

Summing up, I reiterate that:

- (1) There should be no merger of communal parties like the Akali Party with the Congress. Individuals can't be prevented from joining us but then they should publicly resign from this organisation.
- (2) Resettlement of refugees in East Punjab should also include refugees of other Provinces.
- (3) If the responsibility of the governance of East Punjab is a responsibility of the Congress, then the key portfolios should be entrusted to Congress representatives or believers in its basic policies.

I agree that in the membership of the Congress Parliamentary Party of East Punjab there is not much to choose, but then it does not mean that the All India Congress Committee should lend its prestige to steps which will be definitely harmful to the country.

With best wishes and hoping that the progress in your health is satisfactory,

Yours sincerely,
Mridula Sarabhai

The President
Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

Copy to Sjt. Jawaharlal Nehru, New Delhi.

6. *To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava*

Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha
4th April 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I mentioned to you yesterday some of the complaints which had reached me in a general way. I am herewith sending you the copy of a letter, which I have

received, which mentions the same thing in a more detailed way and gives instances. I should like to know what you have to say about the facts stated here. I hope you will bear in mind the complaints and do something to remove them in so far as they are well-founded. I say this because the complaints are voiced not only by people of the other group but by others who are neutral and not in any way concerned with the party politics of the Punjab.

In making the choice of the additional ministers, as far as possible, satisfaction should be given by electing persons who may be considered to be least communal. As regards the expansion of the Cabinet, as I told you, I have no objection if you thought it necessary, but you will have to be careful about the persons to be chosen. I trust, before announcing the names, you will consult me and give me time.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister, East Punjab
Simla.

Enclosure not included.

7. From Major-General J.K. Bhonsle

I.N.A. INQUIRY AND RELIEF COMMITTEE

Congress House
Bombay-4
5th April 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

On the morrow of the Prime Minister's announcement regarding I.N.A. personnel, allow me to thank you most heartily on behalf of the I.N.A. and myself, for the deep and sympathetic interest you have all along taken in the cause of the I.N.A. and for the strenuous and active help that you have rendered to the men who have fought for the liberation of India under the inspiring leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

Although the Premier's announcement has been received with widespread disappointment among the rank and file of the I.N.A., we shall never forget the deep debt of gratitude which we, and those of our comrades who died on the battlefields and who are always marching with us unseen, owe to you and other leaders who spontaneously took up our cause and did everything possible to see that at least the barest minimum of justice was done to us.

I need hardly assure you that whatever the outcome of our present trials and tribulations, we shall always keep before us undiminished the lofty ideals of

service to India, in however humble a capacity. And in thus marching forward we have the encouraging solace that we shall continue to enjoy your watchful and sympathetic interest in us.

Jai Hind.

J.K. Bhonsle (Major-General)
Chairman
I.N.A. Advisory Committee

8. *To Bhimsen Sachar*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
5th April 1948

My dear Shri Bhimsen Sachar,

I have received your two telegrams. As the matter could not be expressed telegraphically I am writing to you.

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava came here. Shri Shankarrao Deo also came with him. You had told me on the telephone in Bombay that you and Dr. Gopichand would be coming together and so I was surprised when I reported the telephonic conversation to Dr. Gopichand and he told me that he was never told by you about this. Shri Shankarrao of course knew about our conversation and as Dr. Gopichand was coming here he also came. However, there is no question of giving a blank cheque to anyone for anything. Dr. Gopichand wanted to know if he could expand the Cabinet. I told him that if he, as a Prime Minister, considered the expansion necessary I will not stand in his way but if he has decided to have some more ministers he should consult me about the personnel.

I have seen your statement, a copy of which came to me by Shri Shankarrao Deo and Gyani Kartar Singh's reply to it and your rejoinder. I have also received a statement signed by 29 members of the original Congress Party and 23 members who were of the Panthic Party and have now joined the Congress. The signatories express their complete faith in the leadership of Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and wholeheartedly support his policy and programme which they believe to be conducive to the welfare of the Punjabis. They referred to your Press statement in which you and some other members of the East Punjab Congress Assembly Party constituted themselves into a group to function as a well-disciplined team inside the Party. It is somewhat difficult to understand how we can have a Party within the Party. All the members of the Assembly in Eastern Punjab now practically belong to the Congress Party and no one belonging to the Congress Party can act in opposition to his own Party. If your comments and criticisms remain confined to the Party meetings that would be intelligible but it seems your Party proposes to use the Press and the public platform for ventilating its differences and grievances against the ministers. Prima facie, this would appear to be subversive of discipline. I would therefore like to hear from

you what you have to say about the matter. As I have been asked to give my decision about the propriety and validity of such a Party I shall be obliged if you write to me soon. I am here till the 13th of this month.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Bhimsen Sachar
New Delhi.

9. *To Prabhudayal Himatsingka*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
5th April 1948

My dear Prabhudayalji,

Please excuse the delay in replying to your letter dated 18/19th March. As regards the vacancy caused by the death of Shri Devi Prasad Khaitan in the Constituent Assembly of India, the matter really rests with the Party and the Executive of the Provincial Committee. Ordinarily, the Central Parliamentary Committee accepts the nominations sent by these bodies and if they recommend your name I do not anticipate any difficulty from our quarter. The position with regard to the Harijan seat is this. We wanted to have Shri Syama Prasad Mookerjee to be elected to the Constituent Assembly before the 15th of February last so that he might continue as a Minister in the Central Government and we were on the look out for a vacancy and just at that time a Harijan member resigned. There was an idea that Shri Prafulla Chandra Sen who has become a Minister in Bengal, and who still continues to be a member of the Central Assembly, will have resigned the latter seat and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee would be elected at its place but there was some delay and so advantage was taken of the vacancy caused by the resignation of the Harijan member. At the same time I made it clear to Dr. Mookerjee as well as Dr. Roy that Sjt. Prafulla Chandra Sen should resign from the Central Assembly and the vacancy should be filled up by a Harijan member, otherwise the Harijans would have a just grievance. Somehow or other Sjt. Prafulla Chandra Sen has not yet resigned and the Harijans have a grievance; but that grievance should be removed by asking Sjt. Sen to resign and putting in a Harijan in his place. Sjt. Devi Prasad Khaitan's place need not, in my opinion, be filled by a Harijan but, as I have said, it all rests in the first instance with the Provincial Party and the Executive Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Prabhudayal.

10. *From Sadiq Ali*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
5 April 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

I hope you have received the letter Dr. Mohan Sinha Mehta has written requesting you to preside over the next anniversary of Vidya Bhawan, a well-known educational institution in Udaipur and Rajputana. They have fixed the 1st week of May for the purpose to suit your convenience. From Bombay you can go direct to Udaipur by plane or otherwise. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me know if it would be possible for you to pay a visit to Udaipur. I am joining Dr. Mehta in the request because I am also associated with Vidya Bhawan. It would be a stroke of good fortune for the institution if you can arrange a brief visit to Udaipur in the midst of your other preoccupations.

Kindly let me have a line in reply.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
Sadiq Ali

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Bajajwadi, Wardha (C.P.).

11. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

SECRET

No. 666/PM

New Delhi
6th April 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have been watching from a distance developments in East Punjab politics. I confess that I have been distressed by them considerably. It is a good thing that the Akalis are joining or have joined the Congress, provided of course that this is not some artificial step without any real meaning.

I must confess that I have little sympathy with either Congress group in the East Punjab. I think both of them behaved in a very irresponsible way. But quite apart from this question the fact remains that the Congress Party in the Legislature (apart from the Akali Sikhs) is split up into two halves which bitterly oppose each other. The result of this is that the Akali Sikhs are presumably masters of the situation.

If the Akali Sikhs have really joined the Congress, well and good, and they

have every right to influence Congress policy in the Province. But recent speeches of Master Tara Singh and Giani Kartar Singh have thrown some light on the motive behind the Akalis joining the Congress. These motives, according to these speeches, are not very praiseworthy or straightforward. In fact threats are used and it is stated that if certain Sikh demands are not met, the Akalis will again leave the Congress. Giani Kartar Singh, who has recently joined the Congress Party, and is even spoken of as a future minister, refers to the Congress in terms which no Congressman can use. Indeed it might well become a question for disciplinary action if any Congressman functioned in this way within the Congress.

I do not know all the facts and you are in a much better position to judge. But I thought that I might place these considerations before you as you are dealing with the matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Congress President
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

12. To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava

Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha
7th April 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I have received a letter dated 3rd April 1948 from Shri Mridula Sarabhai. She thinks that the merging of the Akali Party in the Congress is fraught with grave dangers and apprehends that they will function as an informal group within the Congress and try to influence its politics.

But, her main complaint is about the appointment of Sardar Dilip Singh Kang as Secretary of the Congress Assembly Party. She says that the antecedents of the gentleman are such that his present appointment has caused not only resentment but also gives an indication of the way in which the party is going to work and for the values for which it stands. She says that he was the District Liaison Officer in Lyallpur and was in charge of mass evacuation. Serious allegations were made against him and the Chief Liaison Officer of the East Punjab Government had dismissed him, but this order was not carried out due to the orders from above. She says that she had asked Dr. Lehna Singh why such a person has been appointed as Secretary of the whole party, when there were serious allegations against him. Dr. Lehna Singh told her that the choice was left to the Akali Party and whatever names they gave had to be taken.

As I told you, you have to proceed very cautiously in choosing the personnel as there is a great deal of discontent which is felt not only by the members of the

opposite party, who are opposed to you, but also by some other persons. I shall be obliged, if you let me know something about this particular gentleman, Sardar Dilip Singh Kang, whether it is a fact that the appointment was left to the members of the Akali Party and he was appointed because they gave his name.

I suppose she has also sent me copy of a note on visit to Anandpur Mela by herself on the 24th March, which had as enclosures copies of reports by Srimati Raghuvir Kaur and Shri Hanskumar. The reports indicate that they are not satisfied with the attitude of some of the Sikh leaders regarding the restoration of abducted women. They showed lip sympathy but were really not serious and most of them did not even refer to this question in public speeches in spite of previous requests.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Shri Gopichand Bhargava
Premier, East Punjab Government
Simla.

13. To Jawaharlal Nehru

Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha
8th April 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Difficulty is experienced in finding shorthand writers in Hindustani for offices and for newspapers. There are several systems of Hindustani shorthand which are being used in India at present. The use of Hindustani will grow with great speed not only by the Press but also in Government offices. Even if Urdu script is also adopted, there is no doubt that 'Nagari' will be used much more extensively than Urdu. It is, therefore, necessary to have an authoritative opinion about the utility of one or more of the prevalent systems so that the employers may be guided in making selections. The Government will probably be the biggest employer.

The use of Hindustani is hampered very largely on account of the absence of a suitable typewriter with the necessary speed and other conveniences. Manufacturers of typewriters have got their own systems and if one learns typewriting on one machine one cannot easily change over to another machine because the arrangement of keys differs in different typewriters. Therefore, it is necessary to devise an authoritative arrangement of keys which will give greatest speed with the least labour and at the same time will be able to reproduce everything that can be said in Hindustani, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and other allied languages which have the same alphabets. This can be done only if some experts sit together and devise the arrangement of keys which will be the best from all points of view. The use of Nagari typewriters will increase very much and

as a matter of fact we may require more of typewriters and typists than shorthandwriters. I, therefore, think that a committee of experts should be appointed to find out and recommend to the Government the most efficient system of shorthand and the best arrangement of keys of the typewriter. When the particular arrangement of keys is approved, manufacturers may be asked to produce typewriters with that arrangement of keys. I think that very shortly the various governments in the country will require thousands of Nagari typewriters. I would suggest that until a decision has been taken about the particular arrangement of keys and typewriters produced with that arrangement, Government should purchase minimum number of existing typewriters that it may require to carry on its current work. It should not be difficult for a committee to report within three months and if once decision is taken typewriters can be manufactured within a reasonable period, say, of six months.

I, therefore, propose if you approve to appoint a committee on behalf of the Constituent Assembly of India, for this purpose, unless the Government prefers to do it. If a similar committee for Urdu shorthand and typewriter is considered necessary it may also be appointed. But, the appointment of the committee for Hindustani shorthand and Nagari typewriter should not be delayed on that account. I give below some names of persons whom I consider to be suitable for this committee:

1. Shri Purushottamdas Tandon
2. Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar
3. Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala
4. Acharya Sreeman Narayan Agrawal
5. Acharya Narendra Deva
6. Shri M. Satyanarayan
7. Shri Kripanath Mishra, Professor, Patna College
8. Dr. Raghuvera
9. Shri Shivaji Bhavé
10. Shri Srinivas Durga

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

14. *From Bhimsen Sachar*

11 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
8th April 1948

My dear Babuji,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 5th instant received here today. I am sorry Pt. Siri Ram who had talked to you on the telephone in Bombay left you

with the impression that Dr. Gopichand and I would be coming together to see you. What Pt. Siri Ram told me on the phone after he had talked to you was that Shri Shankarrao Deo should also go to Wardha when representatives of our group would wait on you. Consequently I immediately booked a call for Shri Shankarrao Deo in Delhi and informed him of your desire in the matter. Shri Shankarrao Deo told me in reply that it would not be possible to go to Wardha before the 10th or 11th. I left it to him to fix the date of interview according to your convenience. Shri Shankarrao Deo undertook to do that and to inform me and Dr. Gopichand of the date fixed. On the conclusion of the session on the 2nd instant I left Simla for Delhi with a view to meet Shri Shankarrao Deo on the 3rd and to fix the time to go to Wardha. On arrival here I found that Shri Shankarrao Deo had left for Wardha with Dr. Gopichand in the plane of S. Baldev Singh at 6 a.m. on the 3rd. On this Ch. Lehri Singh, Pt. Siri Ram and myself sent you an express telegram and also phoned to you explaining why we had not been able to accompany Shri Shankarrao Deo. I hope you would agree with me that it would have been better if Shri Shankarrao Deo had postponed his visit to Wardha till he had notified to me the date on which he had wanted to meet you.

I personally did not give credit to the Press report that Dr. Gopichand had been given a blank cheque, but the fact remains that somebody gave the Press an impression to that effect. I cannot dispute the right of a Premier to determine the strength of his Cabinet. But when on the face of it expansion cannot be justified except for the purpose of hooking in a few more votes and when that Premier belongs to a well organised party like Congress I submit the Parliamentary Board should be perfectly satisfied of the bona fides of the expansion and the Premier's word should not be the final word in the matter. In the case of the East Punjab we have seven ministers already. There can be justification for adding two more to the number with a view to give representation to the Hindu and Sikh members who have recently been transferred from the West Punjab to the East Punjab Legislative Assembly. But on what grounds of administrative convenience or economy can the number be raised to as high a figure as eleven passes my comprehension. The proposal to raise the strength of the Cabinet to eleven has made the Party the laughing stock of all and sundry. The idea has been universally ridiculed in the Press by suggesting that the number of ministers might be raised to 13 so as to correspond to the number of districts in the Province.

I respectfully submit that the question of the strength of the Cabinet of the East Punjab should be gone into by you, at your earliest convenience. If the situation is properly handled you would be convinced that even seven ministers would do for our small Province. But to do this you will have to take the trouble of resolving the differences that at present subsist inside the Congress Assembly Party. And they are not difficult to resolve. Only Dr. Gopichand has to be told to change his attitude towards those who he thinks are not with him. The fact that the statement submitted to you has been signed by only 29 members of the original Congress Party has a great tale to tell. How can a Cabinet constituted by

ignoring as many as 27 members out of 56 work with an easy conscience, especially when those 27 members also are the members of the same Congress Party in whose name the Leader will have to act? I would not comment on the value of the support of the 23 members who were of the Panthic Party and have now joined the Congress. I very respectfully submit that these signatures should not be permitted to convince you that all is well in the East Punjab. If you will be so good as to set up an independent commission of enquiry, I am afraid its findings will shock you. In the alternative I suggest that you spend just two weeks in the Province to know the things for yourself. Lest it be said I say this in order to secure for myself a place in the Cabinet of the Province I may be permitted to repeat what I have told my friends already that in any reconstitution of the Cabinet brought about by your intervention in order to obliterate differences of the groups in the Party I shall not be the one to appear in the picture. You will kindly accept my word that I am as keen as anyone to see the end of the differences found in the Party and if my humble services are of any value for resolving them they are at your absolute disposal. I have consulted other members of our group and am in the happy position to assure you that they are for an honourable and just settlement.

If you will excuse my saying so I have not been able to appreciate the objection of Dr. Gopichand to the existence of our group. It cannot be denied that at present there are three distinct groups in the Party, the other two being Dr. Gopichand's group and the group of the former Panthic members. As members of the Assembly Party the members of our group are subject to the same discipline as members of the group of Dr. Gopichand. We cannot and dare not act in opposition to our own Party. Let me assure you that we have no intention to use the Press and the public platform for ventilating our differences and grievances against the ministers. We cannot do that by the very nature of things. The place for ventilating grievances against the Leader of the Party is the Party meeting and if you will refer to Dr. Gopichand he will tell you that this was exactly my stand in my speech I made on the General Discussion of the Budget. I am afraid efforts have been made to give a wrong twist to the matter. My statement of the 24th was intended to be read in the Party meeting itself. I had hardly gone through a few lines of it when on an objection being taken by the Chief Whip the Leader of the Party declared that he would not permit me to go on with my statement. Should not even then the statement have been released to the Press in view of the importance of the issues involved? Dr. Gopichand in his individual capacity was trying to enlist the support of the newly joined Panthic members for securing his leadership for the next term. Therefore he was not acting as a Leader of the Party. His conduct was, therefore, the conduct of an individual and not of the Leader of the Party. I do not think any member can claim protection if he acts in a manner contrary to the fundamental principles and policy of the Party. Before election of the Leader was held I gave to Dr. Lehna Singh who is also the General Secretary of the East Punjab Congress Committee the following draft resolution for the consideration of Dr. Gopichand:

Resolved that a Committee consisting of the following (names to be determined in the meeting) be appointed to ascertain and report on the "Panthic Demands" for which the Leaders of the Panthic Party are endeavouring to enlist support of the leading members of the East Punjab Assembly Congress Party so that the Party as a whole is able to appraise these demands and convey its considered views in respect thereof to the Congress High Command and the Nehru Committee set up for the adjudication of the Panthic Demands.

But Dr. Lehna Singh told me that Doctor Sahib did not approve of the consideration of the resolution in the Party. You will, therefore, see that the statement was made in public interest so that nobody may bind the Congress Party behind its back. I trust it will be conceded that in my statement I have not said anything which will fall short of the Congress standard. If in spite of my submission you are of the view that I should not have made a public reference to what was presumably going on between Dr. Gopichand and Giani Kartar Singh I shall bow before your ruling. I may, however, repeat that our group does not "propose to use the Press and the public platform for ventilating its differences and grievances against the ministers".

The following appeared in the *Tribune* of the 5th April. May I be permitted to enquire if this publication is in any way different from the publication of my statement in the Press?

A letter signed by fifty-six members of the East Punjab Assembly, out of the total of seventy-nine, has been sent to the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who is Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board also, expressing full confidence in the leadership of Dr. Gopichand, the East Punjab Premier, and supporting wholeheartedly his policy and programme. The 56 signatories include the 23 new entrants to the Congress Assembly Party and the remaining 33 are original members of the Party which then consisted of 56 only.

The signatories, while referring to the statement issued by Shri Bhimsen Sachar declaring the formation of a group to function as a well-disciplined team inside the Congress Party, have characterised this as a "violation of the fundamental principles of the Congress organisation, subversive of the discipline and detrimental to the best interests of the Congress and Province". They have also said: "We strongly deprecate his baseless charges against the Leader of the Party and his colleagues in the East Punjab Cabinet. We have complete faith in the leadership of Dr. Gopichand, and we wholeheartedly support his policy and programme, which we believe to be conducive to the welfare of the Punjabees."

When will you be returning to Delhi and when and where I may meet you?

Kindly wire me your further instructions at 11 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Bhimsen Sachar

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Bajajwadi, Wardha.

15. *To T. Prakasam*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
8th April 1948

My dear Shri Prakasam,

Many thanks for your letter dated 31st March 1948. I came here for the sake of health and although there has been some improvement doctors would not permit my undertaking a tour or even a visit to Andhra. As you know, I have not been well for a pretty long time and progress here is very slow and uncertain. The slightest exertion causes a set-back. I hope, therefore, you will excuse me. I shall be awaiting with interest your report which I hope you will kindly send me. I am here till the 12th after which I go to Patna for two or three days and hope to reach Delhi sometime before the 20th and thence to Bombay for the A.I.C.C.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri T. Prakasam
Government House
Mount Road, Madras.

16. *To Sir B.N. Rau*

Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha
9th April 1948

My dear Sir B.N. Rau,

I feel [perplexed] by some provisions in the Draft Constitution and should like to have clarification.

(1) I do not find any provision laying it down in so many terms that the President is required to accept and act according to the advice tendered to him by his Ministers. There is a provision in the case of State Governor in Schedule

IV (3) that the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers, except in so far as he is required to act in his discretion. Does this mean that the President is not bound by the advice of his Ministers at all in any case or that he is bound to act in all cases?

(2) There are some provisions where the President is required to act in his discretion (compare Article 285(1)). In the case of State Ministers it is expressly stated in Article 143 and some other places that there are certain cases in which the Governor acts in his discretion. So while there is a distinction made in the case of Governor of a State between cases in which he is required to act in accordance with the advice of his Ministers and in which he can act in his discretion, there is no such distinction made in the case of the President and his Ministers.

(3) The President has to appoint the Prime Minister and the other Ministers have to be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister. In the case of Provincial Ministers the Governor is not required to appoint other Ministers on the advice of the Chief Minister. Guidance is given to him in the 4th Schedule as to the way in which he will make the appointment. There also the advice of the Chief Minister is not contemplated. On the other hand, Article 144 (6) lays down that the appointment and dismissal of Ministers shall be in his discretion.

(4) The Council of Ministers of the Union is collectively responsible to the House of the People (Article 62 (3)). There is no such provision, in so far as I can see, enjoining collective responsibility upon the State Ministers.

I do not understand why a distinction has been made between the President and the Governors of Provinces as regards the appointment of Ministers, collective responsibility and obligation to act according to the advice of the Ministers. Under the Act of 1935 there was no responsible government in the Centre but there were responsible governments in the Provinces except in so far as the Governor was given powers to act in his discretion and in certain other specified matters. Has the draft maintained that discretion?

There is another point on which some action seems to be necessary. In the footnote to Schedule I, there is a recommendation that a Commission should be appointed to work out or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also other linguistic regions with instructions to submit its report in time to enable the new States whose formation it may recommend to be created. So far as I know, no such Commission has been yet appointed although there is much agitation for creation of linguistic Provinces. The matter was being considered by the Government. The creation of new States is essentially an administrative act which the Government has to undertake or sanction. I see the difficulty in the way of any such Commission acting in the present disturbed circumstances but some decision has to be taken. We could not put it off till the Assembly meets. You might consult the Prime Minister and also the Deputy Prime Minister, if the latter is in a position to attend to such matters, what the Government propose to do. If the Commission has to be appointed it should be

done now, otherwise the work of the Constituent Assembly may have to be held up for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sir B.N. Rau
Constitutional Adviser
Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi.

17. *To Major-General J.K. Bhonsle*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
11th April 1948

My dear General Bhonsle,

Please accept my thanks for your letter dated 5th April. You know the difficulties of the Government and you know also that the Premier and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel had been taking the keenest interest in the welfare of I.N.A. and if they have not been able to do more, there is no lack of will on their part but there must be some insurmountable difficulties which have stood in their way.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Major-Gen. J.K. Bhonsle
Officer-in-Charge
I.N.A. Inquiry & Relief Committee
Congress House, Bombay-4.

18. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
11 April 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th April. I agree with you that it is desirable to appoint a Committee to determine what kind of Nagari typewriters we should have. I think that you might appoint a Committee on behalf of the Constituent Assembly. The names you suggest are suitable. I imagine, however, that the Committee need not exceed five in number.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha.

19. *To Kiran Sankar Roy*

Bajajwadi, Wardha
11th April 1948

My dear Kiran Babu,

I have received your letter dated 2nd April 1948. I wrote to Dr. Roy what struck me at the time specially because of the letter which I had received from Shri Kshitindra Nath Chowdhury to which I made a reference. There is nothing for that to be done. I have been feeling worried about the Hindus in East Bengal and I do not know what we can do. Of course you all are more worried naturally than me. Any large-scale exodus which will aim at bringing the entire Hindu population from East Bengal to West Bengal will create problems which will be unsolvable. The question of rehabilitating fifty lacs that have come from Western Pakistan is hanging fire and to add to it another 125 lacs will break the back of India. But it is a much bigger question which could not be discussed in correspondence.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Kiran Sankar Roy
Home Minister, West Bengal.

20. *From Ranbir Singh Mehta*

Ludhiana
11 April 1948

Respected [Rajendra Prasadji],

I have decided to write this letter after great hesitation as I am fully conscious of your poor health and heavy responsibilities and hope it will receive your earnest consideration.

Akalis have joined Congress Assembly Party in our Province as anticipated in my letter to Bapuji handed personally on the 29th January 1948. A copy was sent to you also for information and am sending another for ready reference. Ordinarily we should feel happy over their decision but as a matter of fact they along with services (Sikhs in particular) have started a crusade against those who have differed with them on political and communal questions. Babu Bachan Singh, M.L.A., and myself are their special targets in this district. It is not possible for me to describe the lawlessness in this letter.

I do feel that the primary duty to improve the matters here is ours but may I request you not to leave us at the mercy of these communalists and services. Burden of the administration here is too heavy for Dr. Gopichand Bhargava.

Please assist him and don't give him a free hand. A timely and bold step by you alone can save the Province and India.

With best respects,

Yours respectfully,
Ranbir Singh Mehta
Member, A.I.C.C. & E.P. Assembly

Babu Rajendra Prasadji
President, Indian National Congress
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

21. *From Ravi Shankar Shukla*

Nagpur
April 11, 1948

Dear Rashtrapati,

I am writing this to remind you about my colleague, the Hon'ble Shri B.A. Deshmukh, Minister of Excise. I had originally written to Shri Kripalaniji but he soon after resigned. Owing to your preoccupation with various matters of all-India importance and your ill-health, the matter has remained pending for a long time. In order to acquaint you with the facts which made me to approach Kripalaniji for permission to demand Shri Deshmukh's resignation, I am once again enclosing the relevant papers. I have only to add that he is not of any help to me as a colleague nor does he enjoy my confidence and his replacement by a competent man from Berar will further strengthen the Cabinet. As regards the appointment of a successor, I shall approach you later. I need not emphasise that in the critical times through which the country and the Province are passing it is not possible to carry on for long with a Minister who has ceased to enjoy my confidence and of my other colleagues.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
R.S. Shukla
Prime Minister, C.P. & Berar

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Camp: Wardha.

Enclosure not included.

22. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
13 April 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

From what you said at Wardha we had hoped that your elder brother's wife will survive at least this illness but God willed it otherwise.

In consultation with Jawaharlalji we have kept the meeting of the Working Committee in Delhi on the 21st and 22nd, as the whole constitution has to be gone through and the work for the Committee is heavy. We propose to have this meeting on the 21st morning also because we have got only two days at our disposal. Then we also have to utilise your stay here for the meetings of the Central Relief Committee, Gandhi National Memorial Fund and also for the small Committee for Disbursement of Punjab Relief Fund. All these meetings will have to be either on the 19th or 20th. I was told by Valmiki who met me in the morning before he left for Patna that at present you propose to leave Patna on the 19th. We were fixing your programme here on the supposition that you are reaching Delhi on the 19th. I do not know exactly how many days are necessary for you to be in Patna in connection with the Sraddha ceremony. If you cannot start on the 18th by train then, I think, it would be better if you can do the journey by air. I am told Bihar Government aeroplane can take you to Allahabad where you can catch the Calcutta-Delhi plane so that we can get some time here for all the work that you have to go through before you leave for Bombay. I hope all the events in the past week and your travel to Patna and to Delhi will not adversely affect your health. Then immediately you have to go to Bombay too. I hope this strain will not be too much.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Congress Maidan
Kadamkuan, Patna.

23. *From Ravi Shankar Shukla*

Nagpur
14th April 1948

My dear Rajendrababu,

Please refer to your letter of the 8th December 1947 regarding the representation received by you from the Catholics protesting against the section

of the Public Safety Act relating to conversions. The Act was enacted into law in November 1947, and as you are aware, at that time there was considerable public feeling against the large-scale forcible conversions that were taking place in other parts of the country. The circumstances at the time were such that any conversion of a Hindu to Islam, even if it was voluntary, was apt to be construed as forcible conversion and could easily have led to breaches of the peace. It was in these circumstances that the Provincial Government considered it necessary to lay down that such conversions should take place only in the presence of a magistrate. But now the position is such that Muslims are afraid of forcible conversions and the Provincial Government have already been receiving complaints from Muslims that members of their community are being so converted to Hinduism. It is significant that when an amendment to this section of the Public Safety Act was moved in the last session of the Provincial Legislative Assembly by the Anglo-Indian member to bring the section into conformity with the provision in the United Provinces Communal Disturbances Prevention Ordinance, the Muslim members of the legislature were among the strongest opponents of the amendment, which was consequently lost.

2. The conditions in this Province are not exactly similar to those prevailing in the United Provinces. For one thing, a large percentage of the population consists of aboriginals and it is among them that there is considerable scope for forcible conversions.

3. In these circumstances, the Provincial Government consider that the time is not opportune for amending the section relating to conversions in the C.P. and Berar Public Safety Act. The Act is a temporary one due to expire in November 1948. If in November it is decided to renew the Act and the circumstances prevailing at the time would permit the amendment of the section, the Provincial Government will certainly take action for its amendment.

Yours sincerely,
R.S. Shukla
Prime Minister, C.P. & Berar

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Constituent Assembly
New Delhi.

24. From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
21st April 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I was anxious to have another long talk with you before you returned to Delhi;

but that was not to be. I am, therefore, writing to you about some matters. I am enclosing herewith two Press cuttings. In regard to the first one (about the date of the next session of the Constituent Assembly) I would like to know if there is any truth in the statement that it may be postponed till the middle of July. The second cutting is *only a sample* of a great deal which is appearing daily, both in English and Bengali, in the Press, creating great uneasiness in the minds of the poor Biharees, specially in the border areas. I am not in the confidence of the Provincial Government, and know nothing as to what they are doing, or intend to do. I can but write to you and you alone, and I am doing so accordingly. On hearing from you I shall write to you again.

Meanwhile, hoping to hear from you, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
Sachchidananda Sinha

Enclosures not included.

25. *From A.K. Ghose*

116 Vivekananda Road
Calcutta
22nd April 1948

Dear Friend,

I beg to inform you that 24 members of the Congress Assembly Party have sent in a communication to Dr. B.C. Roy, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party, West Bengal, to the following effect:

As the present Ministry, which includes outsiders, is not essentially Congress in character and as Congress cause and ideals are suffering endangering thereby the success of Congress candidates at the next General Election and as, further, it is not sufficiently broad-based, we consider it essential that it should be reconstituted under the leadership of Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

Two other members of the Party, namely Dr. P.C. Ghosh and Shri A.L. Poddar, have informed that although they are not signatories they also share the same view. I may add here that I am also in agreement with the viewpoint expressed by these Party members.

I may add here that the present strength of the Congress Assembly Party is 50 excluding the Speaker but excluding Shri Prabhudayal Himatsingka who did not ask for and was not returned on a Congress ticket.

I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Dr. P.C. Ghosh, Member, Working Committee, and Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and also to Dr. B.C. Roy, Leader of the Congress Assembly Party, West Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
A.K. Ghose
Chief Whip
Congress Assembly Party
West Bengal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chairman, Central Parliamentary
Committee & President of Congress
New Delhi.

26. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

22 April 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

I am very sorry that owing to ill-health I am unable to attend the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay on 23 and 24 April. At the same time, I feel I should communicate to my fellow members of the A.I.C.C. a few words on some problems which, in my opinion, require serious consideration and which, I am sure, are engaging their attention. I should, therefore, be grateful if you would kindly convey to them the attached message from me.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Vallabhbhai Patel's message to Members of the A.I.C.C.)

It is with a heavy heart that under pressure of medical advice, I have to absent myself from this important session of the All India Congress Committee. My sorrow is twofold. Firstly, the session is taking place in my own home-province and I should naturally have liked to be with my fellow members during their deliberations in Bombay. Secondly, so soon after Gandhiji's death and during

such important deliberations it is so distasteful to me to deny myself the opportunity of an humble service to the nation and to the organisation to which we all owe so much.

2. Nevertheless, the love which you all bear to me and which you have shown in so unmistakable manner in the past has emboldened me to send these few words from my sickbed. I know full well what mental anguish and physical agony afflict your hearts in regard to the situation in Hyderabad. You cannot but agree that I fully share that distress and that my heart grieves no less than yours for the victims of many a tragedy that are being perpetrated both inside and around the borders of Hyderabad. I also fully realise what stakes are involved in the question of Hyderabad's future relationship with the Indian Dominion and of responsible government in the State, and I can assure you all that all my colleagues in the Cabinet are fully conversant with and keenly alive to the situation. There are difficulties and complexities which must be present to you all as much as they are present to us. I can assure you that nothing short of a satisfactory and honourable solution is desired by, or indeed, would be acceptable to us. You can depend on us, as you have depended on us so far, not to give away any of India's essential interests in this problem. I would, therefore, ask you to extend your confidence and trust to your Government and to bear for a while till we can obtain an acceptable solution of this tangle. Any incautious word or public discussion in a surcharged atmosphere would not assist us. I hope, therefore, I can appeal to you to maintain calm and restraint for a little while longer and to leave it to the Government to discharge its obligations to the people of this country and of Hyderabad in full realisation of the grave responsibilities which it involves.

3. All of you must realise through what critical times the country is passing today. Eternal vigilance is proverbially the price of liberty. We are all realising only too well the truth of that proverb. No Government has been called upon to face, within such a short time of assuming power from alien hands, problems of such diverse variety and stupendous magnitude. It is only because of this devotion, faith and loyalty of the people that we have been able to bear this burden with what we can all claim to be some success. We may have turned the corner, but we are not yet out of the wood. Indeed, in some respects problems of far greater dimensions are still to be faced. Nothing is more necessary in such circumstances than the consolidation of our forces and of our resources. Unity and more unity must be our watchword. Within the short period of six months, we have already achieved a great measure of success in securing that unity in the sphere in which we thought it was most difficult, viz. the Indian States. This has been possible by the sacrifices of the people and by the patriotism and statesmanship of the Princes. When you think of apportioning credit or praise, I hope you will not lose sight of this factor. If, however, we have to solve the problems with which we are likely to be faced in the near future, it is most essential that we close up our ranks and pool our resources. As an organisation, therefore, we must be even more closely knit and must now come together nearer

and nearer. Discipline and an increasing sense of responsibility in what we say and what we do, a more practical approach to the problems and a greater regard for national as against parochial considerations would seem to be the need of the hour. The Congress has fought one of the greatest battles of freedom which has ever adorned the pages of history. It has fought it under the matchless inspiration and guidance of our departed leader. Let us keep alive the unity, the organisation and the indomitable spirit of that struggle. Let us keep burning the torch that that great soul has handed to us. It is only then that we can prove worthy of him and of our nation and of our heritage. May he still be the inspiration of you all in these deliberations.

27. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Calcutta
23 April 1948

DR RAJENDRA PRASAD
BIRLA HOUSE
NAPEANSEA ROAD BOMBAY

NEW SITUATION REGARDING OUR MINISTRY STOP HAVE WRITTEN YOU FULLY
STOP SHALL AWAIT INSTRUCTIONS

BIDHANROY

28. *To Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Congress House
Bombay-4
23 April 1948

HONOURABLE DR ROY
PREMIER WEST BENGAL
CALCUTTA

TELEGRAM RECEIVED NOT LETTER GOING DELHI SEND COPY THERE

RAJENDRAPRASAD

29. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

TOP SECRET

Calcutta
23rd April 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am sorry that on one or two previous occasions, because of shortness of time

and for other reasons of which you are aware, it was not possible for me to consult you, as I should have done, on matters concerning the Bengal Cabinet. Recently a situation has developed in the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, about which I would very much like to have your advice.

2. Yesterday, at about 8 p.m., I received a communication purported to be signed by 26 members, including three members of the Cabinet—Shri Bhupati Majumdar, Shri Hem Chandra Naskar and Shri Mohini Mohan Burman, three Parliamentary Secretaries, and Shri Amar Krishna Ghose, Chief Whip, requesting me to call a meeting of the Party to reconstitute the Cabinet under the leadership of Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh. Of the signatories, Sreejuts Anandilal Poddar and Kamal Krishna Roy had sent intimation, even before the communication reached me, that they had withdrawn their signatures. Sreejut Harendranath Dolui has intimated by a telegram that he was not party to the move. Of the Ministers, Sri Bhupati Majumdar had given his signature long time ago, i.e. even before my Cabinet was formed, to a different document altogether. He has informed me since that he did not sign the present communication.

3. It is obvious that these signatures were being collected from time to time as may be clear from the fact that the name of Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji appears as a signatory on the 22nd instant, though he had left India nearly a month ago. Hearing certain vague rumours, I tried to ascertain facts a few days ago and had asked Sreejut Hem Chandra Naskar and Sreejut Mohini Mohan Burman if they had signed any document for the reconstitution of the Ministry under different leadership and they assured me that they had not signed any document for reconstitution of the Ministry. It is obvious that that statement was not correct. I had also asked the Chief Whip, Sreejut Amar Krishna Ghose, about a week ago and he assured me at that time that there was no move for changing the Ministry.

4. After receiving this communication, however, I felt that I should call a meeting of the Party to discuss the proposal made in the communication at an early date, possibly the 9th May 1948, but I do not wish to take any step in a matter like this without consulting you. I am due to reach Delhi on the 27th. I shall have a talk with you then about this matter.

5. I am sending copies of all communications received by me from Sreejut Amar Krishna Ghose in this connection.

6. I would also request you to kindly consider the propriety of the action taken by two members of the Cabinet who have signed the requisition while remaining on the Cabinet and assuring me all the time that they have not signed anything of this nature.

7. I shall be waiting for your reply.

Yours sincerely,
Bidhan Chandra Roy

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

30. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
24 April 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

I wrote to you on 25 February 1948, about the position of the Congress Sewa Dal under the instructions which we have issued regarding banning of volunteer organisations indulging in drills, marches, etc., of a semi-military character. Subsequently, Jugal Kishore also wrote to me, and he said that the matter would be placed before you when you came to Delhi. I shall be glad to know what the outcome has been.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi.

31. *To Ravi Shankar Shukla*

Camp: Bombay
24th April 1948

My dear Shuklaji,

Please refer to your letter dated 11th April. If a Minister ceases to have confidence in his Leader or if the Prime Minister ceases to have confidence in a colleague of his, it is obvious that both cannot continue together. You are, therefore, free to ask Mr. B.A. Deshmukh to resign and to have another colleague in his place. You must, of course, have considered the effect and implications of his removal from the Cabinet so far as the Party position is concerned. As you have said, you will refer to me again regarding his successor.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla
Prime Minister, C.P. & Berar
Nagpur.

32. *From some Congress members of the Madras Legislature*

Government House
Mount Road, Madras
Camp: Bombay
26 April 1948

Sir,

In continuation of our telegram to you dated 21-4-48, we the undersigned

Congress Members of the Madras Legislature place before you the following:

Since the change of Ministry in March 1947, the status of the Madras Ministry has dwarfed, the reputation of the Government has gone down, and a gap between public opinion and the Ministry has come into existence, developed and widened beyond measure.

1. The composition of the Legislature not having changed, the Ministry has developed round itself a ring of vested interests by

- (a) reversing the policy of procurement and distribution of foodstuff and controlled articles through cooperative organisations which had been planned and put into operation during 1946-47 by the previous Ministry;
- (b) placing the procurement and distribution in the hands of millers and wholesalers, hoarders and black marketeers who had been the partisans of the ministerial group in the Legislature;
- (c) distribution of export and import permits of cement, yarn, and steel quotas, of licences for the purchase and sale of controlled articles, and by granting bus routes or withholding the same with a view to help the ministerial group of members of the Legislature;
- (d) use of control orders including the house-rent control for partisan ends;
- (e) halting and nullifying the schemes intended for the benefit of the masses such as (a) Harijan uplift, (b) rural reconstruction, (c) Khadi schemes, (d) cottage industries; and
- (f) Firka development which had all been carefully planned by the previous Ministry in consultation with Mahatmaji, A.I.S.A., and A.I.V.I.A.

2. The Ministry has demoralised the permanent services by

- (a) interfering in the day-to-day administration in the districts as well as at headquarters to suit the convenience or the benefit of its supporters in the Legislature;
- (b) allowing them to influence or intimidate officers for personal or partisan purposes;
- (c) taking action against officers who do not satisfy the wishes of their supporters; and
- (d) overlooking several officers in and outside the Secretariat on the ground that they are "Prakasam's men".

3. The Ministry has tampered with the administration of justice in courts by:

- (a) passing stay orders in pending suits;
- (b) withdrawing prosecutions while trials are in progress;
- (c) demoralising the judiciary by ill-treatment accorded to the Chief Justice of the High Court of Madras which led to his resignation.

4. The Ministry has postponed giving effect to the agreed policy of the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary.

5. The Ministry has failed to improve the food position, and mismanaged rationing, leading to much starvation and distress and aggravating agrarian troubles, and even using Communists for partisan purposes.

6. The Ministry has become blatantly communal, going so far as to restrict admissions into colleges, both Government and even private, on communal basis.

7. In a Province formed of 4 linguistic units, the Ministry has become markedly territorial in outlook and shown a demonstrable antipathy to the non-Tamil areas and people.

8. The Andhra section of the Ministry has attempted to destroy the discipline of Congress ranks

- (a) by treating the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and most of the District Congress Committees in Andhra as hostile;
- (b) by setting up or encouraging the rival organisations to the official Congress Committee like Congress Workers' Organisations, Congress Labour Parties, Andhra Provincial Progressive Congress Workers' Party, and National Weavers' Association in various districts by the ministerialist supporters;
- (c) by encouraging ministerialists to set up rival candidates to the official Congress candidates or to the official chairman candidates in Municipal elections;
- (d) by Ministers and the ministerialists associating themselves and cooperating with the Communists in order to get their help as against the official Congressmen; and
- (e) by seeking fictitious enrolment of nearly a lakh of members on unauthorised printed membership forms with a view to capture the D.C.C.s and P.C.C.s.

9. The Ministry has completely failed to meet the situation arising out of the aggressive activities of Hyderabad and is unable to give protection to life and property on the border areas which are subject to daily raids, loot and arson, neglecting to discharge its duties, and becoming callous to complaints in this behalf and throwing the security of the Province into danger.

10. Seeing this deterioration and taking the opportunity of an annual election, we wanted to forget old differences and get a Ministry composed of the best men in the Party to run the administration on pure, non-communal and non-territorial lines to serve the masses, to make the Province self-sufficient in food and clothing, to ensure an independent Judiciary and to resist the aggression of Hyderabad. With this end in view we made an effort at combining the various elements in the Party. The group popularly known as the Rajaji group responded well, but the ministerialists with their ring of vested interests would not. But the last-moment defection of Dr. Subbarayan, the cry of Tamil Nadu in danger and

33. *From Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah*

Srinagar
April 27, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Responsible government in the Jammu and Kashmir State has been secured after a bitter struggle extending over seventeen years by the people of this State. Although we are fighting a war against an unscrupulous and savage enemy intent upon depriving us of our newly won freedom, we have decided to hold freedom celebrations during the week beginning from the 7th May 1948. Our object is to show to the world the fine morale which the ordinary man or woman in Kashmir is possessed of and the tenacity with which the people of Kashmir are holding fast to their freedom.

You have all along supported us in our endeavours to free Kashmir and today when the country has been invaded, you are in no small measure helping us to win victory. Consequently, when we are celebrating our freedom, we would very much appreciate if you make it convenient to be present at and participate in the various functions during the celebrations. The bonds of comradeship in struggle which have held us together so far would be considerably strengthened and cemented by your presence at the celebrations.

Let me assure you that although we are facing great hardships, we will not be found sparing of efforts to welcome you and make your stay in Kashmir comfortable.

I should feel grateful if you inform the Kashmir Trade Commissioner (5 Prithviraj Road) in New Delhi of the date of your arrival in Srinagar. The Trade Commissioner would be able to help you in the matter of passage etc.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Abdullah
Prime Minister, Jammu & Kashmir

34. *From Ravi Shankar Shukla*

Nagpur
April 27, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

You know full well that the Berar politics are getting complicated every day, and I need not tell you how urgent the removal of the Hon'ble Shri B.A. Deshmukh from my Cabinet has become now. It has been delayed long and cannot brook further delay. When I talked to you about this matter on your assuming the office of the Congress President, you told me that I could remove him; but as I had referred the matter to you, I thought it better to have your formal approval. For

reasons which I have mentioned in my last letter to you, the matter remained pending with you. While at Wardha, I had written to you about this matter, and when passing through Nagpur to Calcutta you told me you would be sending your formal approval soon; but I have not yet received it. I shall be grateful if you kindly send it to me immediately. I regret very much owing to some unavoidable circumstances I could not possibly go to Bombay. I hope you will do the needful before you leave Bombay and oblige.

Organised attempts are being made in Berar to embarrass this Government, if not to bring it into disrepute. Tenants are being encouraged to offer non-violent satyagraha to get back lands which were lost to them many many years ago. A sample of the form in which this agitation is going on is enclosed for your perusal.

Another agitation has been started against the Janapada Act which was passed into law only in the last session of the Legislative Assembly.

Having lost all my confidence in my colleague, I cannot take effective measures in the Cabinet without the risk of disclosure of the steps to be taken. It would not be proper for me to take any action without taking my colleagues into confidence. I need not dilate upon this matter any more. I hope you will let me have your formal approval as early as possible before you leave Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
R.S. Shukla

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Bombay.

Enclosure not included.

35. *From Ravi Shankar Shukla*

Nagpur
April 27, 1948

Dear Rashtrapatiji,

Shri Biyani and his friends have engineered an artificial agitation against the Janapada Act in Berar. Information received by me from various sources in Nagpur indicates that he is contacting the office-bearers and members of the Nagpur Provincial Congress Committee to instigate them to start a similar agitation in the Congress Province of Nagpur. All indications go to show that he intends to give a fight to the C.P. and Berar Government over this issue. Except a few M.L.A.s from Berar the entire Congress Party supported the Bill and it was passed into law. Letters have gone over to all the Deputy Commissioners in the Province to arrange to put the Act into operation and Government intends to enforce it in the course of coming three months. In order to bring to your notice

the way Shri Biyani is going I am enclosing herewith a letter from the Deputy Commissioner, Akola, with the forwarding remarks of the Commissioner, Berar Division. I wonder how can a President of a Provincial Congress Committee engineer not only agitation but even revolt against an Act passed by the Legislature of the Province. How can a few Congress M.L.A.s join in such a revolt because they were out-voted in the Party meeting by an overwhelming majority of their colleagues in the Party? This is subversive of all discipline in the Party and in these circumstances it is not possible for any Provincial Government to function. Up to the day he instigated a 'no-confidence motion' against the Ministry I did all that I could to cooperate with him. His position in Berar is thoroughly shaken and the day the Ministry took the field against him he will be nowhere. But my attitude has been so far only of self-defence confined to the Congress Party inside the Legislature. I have ignored the propaganda that his newspapers have been carrying on against the Government. But now he is resorting to direct action and the Government cannot sit idle. Owing to the activities of the Ittehadul-Mussalmeen and Razakars the situation is abnormal in Berar and Shri Biyani cannot be permitted to lower the prestige of Government in that part of the Province. Having lost popular support, he is now trying to live on by exciting communal and regional feelings.

I would, therefore, request you to instruct him to stop this agitation and to allow Government to proceed to enforce the law.

Yours sincerely,
R.S. Shukla

P.S. The accompanying note explains the manner in which the Bill was discussed in the Party meeting and the Assembly and passed into law.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Bombay.

Enclosure 1:

(Letter from D.A. White to H.S. Kamath)

D.O. No. C/771

Akola
18th April 1948

Dear Shri Kamath,

I attach herewith for your information a copy of the report of a meeting held at Akola on the 15th April 1948 under the chairmanship of Dr. Panjabrao Deshmukh to protest against the application of the Janāpāda Act.* You will see that the conveners of the meeting and the persons attending are those who are

hostile to the present Ministry. There is no doubt that they are making plans to wreck the Janapada Act.

2. In a recent reference Government have directed that a statement should be prepared listing the assets and liabilities of the District Council and the Local Boards in each district. A Committee is to be set up to advise on various matters particularly the apportionment of these assets and liabilities amongst the various Sabhas to be constituted in the district. Government have further directed that the work should be completed within a month. I expect, however, a great deal of obstruction from the opposition. As you know, Dr. Khedkar has full control over the District Council and Local Boards, not only in his capacity as Chairman of the District Council, but also as a prominent politician. A situation may, therefore, arise under which he may either refuse to give the information required for preparing the necessary statement, or suppress vital matters, or delay progress one way or the other. It is also likely that all the M.L.A.s of the district who will be members of the Committee ipso facto might take their cue from Dr. Khedkar and refuse to cooperate. In such circumstances, I would be rather in a difficult position and I would be, therefore, grateful for your instructions as to how such a situation is to be handled. In any case, I am sure that it will be impossible to supply the required information inside a month and I shall do my best to comply with Government's orders.

Yours sincerely,
D.A. White
Deputy Commissioner, Akola

Shri H.S. Kamath, I.C.S.
Commissioner, Berar.

*Not included.

Enclosure 2:

(Letter from H.S. Kamath to D.A. White)

D.O. No. 348

Amraoti Camp
The 22nd April 1948

My dear White,

Please refer to your D.O. letter No. C/771 of the 18th April regarding the opposition that is being organised to the Janapada Act. I can quite see that interested parties are likely to place obstructions in your attempts to comply with Government's orders. It is difficult to say just now, before we know what shape obstruction might take, what one can do to avoid delay in complying with

Government's orders. I have already separately asked for weekly progress reports and in these reports and additional ones, if necessary, you might keep me fully posted with developments from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
H.S. Kamath

Shri D.A. White, I.C.S.
Deputy Commissioner, Akola.

No. 348/A, dated Amraoti Camp, the 22nd April 1948.

Copy with a copy of the letter to which it is a reply and a copy of its enclosure forwarded to Shri B.L. Pandey, Secretary to Government, C.P. & Berar, Local Self-Government Deptt., Nagpur, for information and such instructions, if any, as Government might like to give at this stage.

2. The presence at this meeting of Pandit Kanade Shastri, who in fact moved the protest resolution, is noteworthy. Shri Kolhe's absence suggests that no difficulties are likely to be experienced in Yeotmal. In the event of trouble in Buldana, perhaps the Officer-in-Charge could be replaced. The Amraoti case is already before Government. Akola is likely to prove most obstructive.

H.S. Kamath
Commissioner, Berar

Enclosure 3:

(Note referred to in the postscript to the letter)

The speeches delivered by Pandit Kanade Shastri, Deputy Speaker of the C.P. and Berar Legislative Assembly, and Deputy Leader of the Congress Assembly Party, and Dr. Khedkar and Dr. More, both members of the Legislative Assembly, at the Conference convened on the 15th of April to oppose the Janapada Bill, recently passed by the Legislative Assembly, have caused great surprise. All these members had been party to the passing of the Bill. They had also been present at the Party meeting where the Janapada Bill was discussed exhaustively in three meetings.

If the reports of the speeches of Pandit Kanade Shastri, Dr. Khedkar and Dr. More, as published in the *Hindustan Herald* of April 20th and *Matrubhumi* of April 18th, be correct, the points of their attack are:

- (i) that the procedure to pass such an important Bill was avoided by the Government; it was not sent for public opinion nor was it sent to a Select Committee;

- (ii) that it was put before the Congress Assembly Party just the previous evening when it came before the Assembly.

The facts about these two points are as follows:

The Local Government Bill or Janapada Bill was first published for general information in the C.P. and Berar Gazette dated 14th October 1947. It therefore came up for discussion in the Party on 30th October 1947. It was discussed whether the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion or be referred to a Select Committee immediately. However, as the Bill was a very important Bill and had certain shortcomings, it was decided that instead of referring the Bill to a Select Committee and getting the advice of the M.L.A.s alone, it would be much better if a Drafting Committee including responsible non-Party Presidents and ex-Presidents of the District Councils was appointed. The Bill could then be re-drafted in the light of their advice and suggestions and brought before the Assembly in its next session. The Drafting Committee was to have been appointed by a resolution to be moved in the Assembly. All the Party Members agreed to this proposal and a Drafting Committee was subsequently appointed by a resolution of the Assembly consisting of the following members:

Chairman:

Hon'ble Pt. D.P. Mishra.

Members:

Hon'ble Mr. R.K. Patil
Syt. K.P. Pande, M.L.A.
Syt. Hifazat Ali, M.L.A.
Syt. B.A. Mandloi, M.L.A.
Syt. P.S. Patil, M.L.A.
Syt. G.N. Kale, M.L.A.
Syt. K. Radhakrishnan, I.C.S.
Syt. H.S. Kamath, I.C.S.
Syt. G.H. Gokhale, Nagpur
Syt. A.S. Athalye, Advocate, Akola
Syt. M.P. Kolhe, Yeotmal.

Secretary:

Syt. B.L. Pande.

The Local Government Bill then in its re-drafted form came before the March session as Bill No. 20 of 1948. The Bill was actually passed on 30th March 1948 and it was discussed exhaustively in the Party in the two meetings of the 11th March and the third meeting of 29th March. Whatever amendments members suggested were discussed in the Party at length and were accepted or rejected by the vote of the majority.

36. *To Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla*

28 April 1948

PRIME MINISTER
SRINAGAR

INDIFFERENT HEALTH PREVENTS MY JOINING FREEDOM CELEBRATIONS IN KASHMIR STOP KASHMIR IS PASSING THROUGH A TRYING ORDEAL AFTER WINNING ITS FREEDOM STOP THE PEOPLE HAVE SHOWN GREAT COURAGE AND EXEMPLARY FORTITUDE AND I HOPE AND PRAY THAT THEY WILL BE ABLE TO RETAIN AND EXPAND THE FREEDOM WHICH THEY HAVE ALREADY OBTAINED AND THROW BACK THE INVADERS WHO HAVE SO CRUELLY BEHAVED TOWARDS THEM STOP KASHMIR'S CAUSE IS INDIA'S CAUSE AND OUR GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY GIVEN THE ASSURANCE OF ITS CONTINUED SUPPORT

RAJENDRAPRASAD

37. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

SECRET

New Delhi
1 May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I do not know how matters are proceeding in regard to East Punjab. I am sure that with your advice some suitable arrangement will be made. There is however one matter which troubles me greatly. This is the possibility of Giani Kartar Singh being appointed a Minister. Quite apart from his past record of anti-national activities he is a person who is not desirable or reliable from any point of view. I think the reputation of the Congress will go down if we make him a Minister. This will certainly irritate greatly many Congress elements not only in East Punjab but elsewhere. As it is we are accused of being pure and simple opportunists. That accusation would gather force.

I do not wish to interfere in any way in East Punjab matters and I shall of course abide by your decision. But I felt I might take the liberty of letting you know how I feel about this matter.

Yours,
Jawaharlal NehruDr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

38. *To K.C. Neogy*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 5th May 1948

When I met you this morning I had a talk with you about those Congress workers who have come over from the Punjab (Western) and are in need of houses. You said that you will have a look at the Ferozshah Kotla site and see what can be done for them. I am herewith forwarding to you a copy of their representation with a hope that it will have your best attention.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Shri K.C. Neogy
Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

39. *From B. Shiva Rao*

4 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi
5th May 1948

Dear Rajen Babu,

I am enclosing herewith a pamphlet entitled 'Crusade for World Government'. Mr. Edward Clark was here recently to advocate such a movement. It has already grown considerably in the United States and in Europe, particularly in England. Mr. Arthur Moore told me that Gandhiji was always strongly in favour of such a move. He also saw Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently with Mr. Clark and came back with the impression that Panditji very strongly favoured such a movement. I think it is entirely in accord with the principles of the Congress. I am wondering whether you could give Mr. Moore and myself a little time, say on Saturday, if it is convenient to yourself.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. Shiva Rao

Enclosure not included.

40. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-7/91

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
5th May 1948

Dear Rajen Babu,

I am sending you the relevant cuttings about the debate in the Bombay Corporation on Public Security Act and an editorial that appeared in *The Times of India* on the subject. I am sending them immediately because it may be possible for you to draw the attention of Panditji to this matter when you meet him today.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

41. *From A.K. Ghose*

116 Vivekananda Road
Calcutta
6th May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have already sent to you copies of the letters addressed by a number of members of the Congress Assembly Party asking for a reconstitution of the West Bengal Ministry under the leadership of Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh. These letters were dated 22-4-1948.

It was only on 1-5-1948 that Dr. B.C. Roy issued a notice to the members calling a meeting of the Party on 5th May at 4 p.m. at his own residence at 36 Wellington Street. He was requested to shift the venue of the meeting to the Party room in the Assembly building but the request went unheeded.

During the intervening period between 22.4.1948 and 5.5.1948 strenuous efforts had been made to win over members by various kinds of offers. Two members who were signatories to the requisition were taken away and kept under close guard and their whereabouts remained unknown to the requisitionists until the meeting assembled.

On the 4th instant Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh was approached and on request he met a few leading supporters of Dr. B.C. Roy at the residence of Shri Kiran Sankar Roy and a compromise proposal was placed before him. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh asked for time to consult the signatories and by appointment met Dr. Roy at 9 p.m. same day, but to his surprise he came to know that Dr. B.C. Roy and his supporters were not prepared to implement the proposal they had themselves made in the morning. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh immediately issued to the Press a statement of which copy is enclosed (flagged 'B').*

The Party meeting was duly held on 5.5.1948 at the residence of Dr. Roy. The total number of Party members is 50 out of which the following three members were absent: (1) Hon'ble Shri Bhupati Majumdar, (2) Hon'ble Shri Iswardas Jalan, Speaker, and (3) Shri Shyamapada Bhattacharyya.

When the meeting assembled Shri Deven Sen, Secretary, Congress Assembly Party, read out a statement signed by 22 members (flagged 'C')* which was handed over to the Leader. The 22 signatories left the meeting immediately thereafter.

It appears that Dr. B.C. Roy subsequently met Press representatives to whom he gave a report of the meeting. The Press report is enclosed (flagged 'F').*

Dr. Roy has given out to the Press the names of 30 members who have, according to him, given him a signed note expressing their confidence in him. The names of all such signatories have been published in the newspapers. In this list occur the names of six persons who are not members of the Congress Assembly Party.

The Associated Press of India interviewed Shri Deven Sen, Secretary, and the undersigned as the Chief Whip and sought information whether the four Ministers who are not members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly and also Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan and Shri Prabhudayal Himatsingka were members of the Congress Assembly Party with the right to vote. The undersigned and Shri Deven Sen jointly made a statement of which a newspaper cutting is enclosed (flagged 'J').*

Yours sincerely,
A.K. Ghose
Chief Whip
Congress Assembly Party

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

*Not included.

42. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Calcutta

6th/7th May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I talked to you over the phone and I am now sending you herewith all the papers concerning the meeting that was held yesterday.

2. As I told you before, the total number of members who had originally joined in the requisition was 26, of whom 4 (four) had written to me withdrawing from the requisition even before the requisition letter was delivered to me. Of these four men, one could not come due to illness and the other three were on our side. This left the requisitionists with twenty-two members, including Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee who was wired for from Europe to come for the purpose of voting. Sri Iswar Das Jalan, the Speaker, did not come to the meeting; so also Hon'ble Sri Bhupati Majumdar. Sri Shyamaapada Bhattacharjee of Murshidabad could not come because of illness.

3. The total number of members of the Party who are also members of the Assembly was therefore 53, including the Maharajahdiraja of Burdwan who has become a four-anna member of the Congress and has signed the Congress pledge.

4. Thus there were, from amongst the members of the Party who are also members of the Assembly, 49 members present at the meeting. Besides them, the four Ministers who have not yet been elected to the Assembly were also present.

5. As soon as the meeting commenced, I asked the members to consider the proposal that was formally put before me for the consideration of the meeting and I asked the members to try and restrict their speeches to two persons on either side so that the matter might be disposed of quickly. As soon as I finished, Sri Deben Sen, a member belonging to the Requisitionist Party, made a statement which you must have seen in the papers, and a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. This statement was signed by 22 members. As they withdrew their requisition, there was nothing else to be discussed and the meeting was therefore declared as closed. Some members of the Party, however, got up and asked permission to move a vote of confidence in me as Leader. I could not allow it because the meeting having closed, no further resolution could be discussed, but they have subsequently issued a signed statement conveying their confidence in me. Thirty of them have signed. The strength of the two groups was therefore 31, including myself and the four Ministers, and 22.

6. This morning, the two Ministers (scheduled caste) came to me and have given me a signed statement in which they expressed their regret for having signed the requisition while they were Ministers and have declared their confidence in me as Leader. Along with them four other scheduled caste members have also signed a similar statement, a copy of which is also attached herewith. Two other members of the scheduled caste are also expected to sign the statement today or tomorrow. This makes the strength of the Party 40 against 14 of the other group, two remaining neutral. I do hope that the Party alignment will

continue to hold on until we can finish the jobs that are before us. If we get five to six months' time, we might be able to lay the foundation of many of the projects that we have in hand.

7. You remember our discussion regarding the Ministers who signed the requisition for reconstitution of the Ministry while they were in office. Similar was the case with the Parliamentary Secretary and Chief Whip. In order to express our disapproval I had to ask Rajaji to accept resignation from all of us which we submitted to him and we were sworn in at 3 p.m. today. We have got two seats vacant, viz. those occupied by Sri Hem Chandra Naskar and Sri Mohini Mohan Barman. If you approve, I could waive the objection regarding them and put them again in the Ministry. With regard to the third Minister, Sri Bhupati Majumdar, all I can say is this that at the present moment he is not inclined to continue as a Minister because of his Party affiliations with Sri S.M. Ghosh and Sri A.K. Ghose. I desire to keep that portfolio open also for the time being in the hope that Sri Bhupati Majumdar might reconsider his position. He is a very useful Minister and a conscientious worker and ordinarily I would expect him to come back to us.

Yours sincerely,
B.C. Roy

P.S. My reason for asking you to waive your objection to these scheduled caste Ministers are

- (i) they admit they had been misled;
- (ii) I doubt if among this group there would be more dependable persons;
- (iii) we have punished them by rejecting their names for the reconstituted [Ministry].

Can we not relax?

B.C. Roy

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

43. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
7 May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Ghanshyamdas Birla in regard to

Birla House and grounds.*

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

*See enclosure 2 to Vallabhbhai Patel's letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 14 May 1948.

44. *To Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
7th May 1948

My dear Dr. Roy,

Now that you are firm in your seat, I may trouble you about a problem in Western Bengal which has been pressed upon me by some friends for some time past. There is a large number of tanks in West Bengal in the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapur and Burdwan which are now derelict and which with not a very heavy expenditure can be re-excavated and made into effective irrigation tanks. I believe this matter has been engaging the attention of the West Bengal Government but nothing is known to have been done so far. I would request you to look into the matter and take up this work which will prove very helpful within a very short time and at a reasonably moderate cost in the Grow More Food campaign. My attention was drawn to this particularly by a friend, Shri Sukumar Chatterji, who is a retired Deputy Collector and who was very much interested in this thing. He is at present very ill and his life is despaired of. When I was in Calcutta in the last month even from his sickbed he sent word to me about this scheme and I went to his house to meet him but as he was unfortunately on the third floor and my asthma would not permit my going up, I had to come away after exchanging messages from the ground floor. I have just received a letter from a friend whom he has requested to remind me of this and therefore I am taking this liberty of addressing you on the subject. An officer, who has probably just retired and who knows a great deal about this matter, is Binod Behari Sarkar, 18/42 Dover Lane, P.O. Rash Behari Avenue. He was the District Magistrate of Birbhum where he had re-excavated some tanks with good results. If you consider it necessary, you might send for him and consult him.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy
Prime Minister of West Bengal
Calcutta.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Vallabhbhai Patel and Abul Kalam Azad



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

45. To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
7th May 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I have seen a note in the Press published in *The Hindustan Times* this morning that in the reshuffle of the Ministry that is going to be made, Sardar Swaran Singh is going to be replaced by Gyani Kartar Singh. As I told you, I consider Sardar Swaran Singh to be a good and efficient Minister who should not be displaced and I also made it clear to you that the inclusion of Gyani Kartar Singh in the Ministry would not be liked. I have had since conversation with Sardar Vallabhbhai who agrees with me about Gyaniiji and Pandit Jawaharlalji has written to me a letter about the same matter. You saw Shri Shankarrao's reaction to this proposal. I hope you will give due weight to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

46. To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 7th May 1948

My dear Sir,

Please excuse the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 21st April. As you know I had been away to Bombay for the meeting of the All India Congress Committee and thereafter for a day to Mussoorie to see Sardar Patel and so my correspondence has remained unattended to.

It is a fact that the next session of the Constituent Assembly will be held in July and not in May as I originally decided. This change has been made on account of a representation from many members. I propose to fix the 12th of July for the same. I hope this change will suit you also.

I have been asked and I am going to appoint a committee to go into the question of the creation of new Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. There is no question of change of boundaries of the existing Provinces at the present moment. That is a matter for the Government of India to decide and not for the Constituent Assembly and as far as I know the Prime Minister is opposed to any movement for realignment of boundary lines between the existing Provinces. As the names of the Provinces have to be mentioned in the Constitution the question of creation of new Provinces rests with the

Constituent Assembly and I have therefore to appoint a committee to go into the matter.

The question of Orissa and Chhatisgarh States is coming up before the States Ministry today and I understand the Chief Secretary of Bihar and other officers have come here to represent the Bihar case. As far as I can judge, the chances are that Bihar may succeed in Seraikella and Kharsawan but not in the matter of Chhatisgarh States. But this is only a guess. The case is going to be argued.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, D.Litt.

47. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
7th May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

In continuation of the letter which I have written to you today about the conference to be held at Mussoorie on the 24th and the 25th instant, I would suggest that Shri Kamal Nayan Bajaj may also be invited. He has been taking interest in the work and I think his presence might be of use to me later on.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie.

48. *From Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

CONFIDENTIAL

Calcutta
8th May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

A meeting of the West Bengal Congress Assembly Party took place on the 5th. The Congress Assembly Party to our knowledge consisted of 50 members of which 3 were absent. In addition to these 47, Shri Prabhudayal Himatsingka, who was recently elected on non-Congress ticket, and Maharaja of Burdwan who never crossed the threshold of the Congress, were also found seated in the

meeting. Four non-member Ministers also were present. Out of the 47, we were 22 and Dr. Roy had 25. Even including Shri Prabhudayal Himatsingka who had been a member of the Assam Legislative Assembly, Dr. Roy's supporters did not exceed 26. Three from our side crossed the floor. So it is an undoubted fact that we were in a minority.

You have probably received reports from the Chief Whip or the Secretary. But what happened next has rather pained me. On the 6th, two scheduled caste Ministers were told that disciplinary action was contemplated against them by the Congress High Command and I am told that your name also was used. So, they got nervous, not being accustomed to Congress politics, and were made to sign a statement which hardly reflects their mind.

As far as I understand the constitution, even a Minister has the right to communicate his mind to the Leader and in the Party he has a right to express his opinion in favour of a change of the Leader. He cannot do so publicly without resigning.

Some of the Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries sent a private communication to the Leader which the Leader himself made public by a Press conference. In my opinion, if there was any breach of etiquette, it was on the part of the Leader. I cannot understand how the question of disciplinary action arises. I do not know whether you gave any inkling of your mind to Dr. Roy or Prafulla Sen in this matter; but you told me nothing. If freedom of expression is stopped in the Party even, totalitarianism is bound to come. I hold these views. That is why, when communication was sent to me while I was Leader to the effect that four M.L.A.s were in sympathy with the requisition for change of Leadership, I did not say anything. Two of them were Ministers and two of them were Parliamentary Secretaries. Then also I thought that they had every right to do so. Now also I think that these Ministers committed no breach of discipline.

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

49. To Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
8 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am enclosing herewith a letter which I have received from one Shreedhar Udgata, editor of an Oriya weekly paper *Praja Mitra* published from Bolangir in Patna State. The complaint is that he has been interned and his press and house have been searched and he has been ordered not to publish anything without pre-censor because in his paper he has been advocating the formation of the Union of

the Orissa States on the model of Saurashtra and such other similar unions rather than their merger in Orissa. The action has been taken under sections 2 and 11 of the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1948. Apart from the legality of the order which is not free from doubt, the question is whether the provisions of the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act could be applied to writings of this nature. The translation of the article which is the basis of this action does not show anything which even can remotely be suggested as leading to disturbance of public order or instigating any violence in some form or shape. I cannot believe that our Governments should use these special measures for suppressing expression of public opinion on a matter like this.

This is not the first instance. On the question of legality and the applicability of the Act itself to the State of Patna, I doubt if the Legislative Assembly of Orissa is entitled, under the law as it stands at present, to pass a law which will apply to any of the Orissa States any more than it can pass a law which could apply to any of the other Provinces or any other State in India. I do not think that mere signing of the agreement for integration confers on the Legislature of Orissa the power to pass laws to govern the States.

This is not the only instance where action like this has been taken. The other day I received information that two Congressmen who had gone to one of the Chhatisgarh States had been arrested and detained there under a similar law of the Central Provinces. We have all along preached against such arbitrary laws and it does not lie in our mouth to use them on such pretext. I agree that where there is real danger to the peace and order of the Province our Provinces should have the power to take action under such drastic laws, but there is no justification in such cases for its use. As the matter raises a very fundamental issue, I am referring it to you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for Home Affairs
Mussoorie.

Enclosure not included.

50. To Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy.

1. Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
9th May 1948

My dear Dr. Roy,

I have received your letter dated the 6/7th May explaining the circumstances in

which the requisitionists withdrew their requisitions and I have noted the contents thereof.

As regards the suggestion that Syt. Hem Chandra Naskar and Syt. Mohini Mohan Barman might be taken back into the Ministry, it will be setting a bad example. It would look as if they were induced to change [their] opinion under threat of dismissal and when the crisis has been passed over with [their] help, they were taken back as a reward for their support. . . . *

I have also received your letter dated the 7th May about the use of rooms in the Secretariat and services of some Government servants in connection with the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. As I told you over the telephone I do not like that the Government should incur any cost in this connection. It is of course a different matter if the Government servants could give some of their off-time to this work to which I hope the Government will have no objection.

I have also received your letter forwarding to me a letter addressed to you by Dr. S.K. Ganguly about a publication in *The Searchlight*. He has addressed to me independently the same letter. I do not know what I can do in the matter. *The Searchlight* is an independent paper with which I have now no concern.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy
Prime Minister, West Bengal
Calcutta.

*Portion of letter illegible.

51. To Sir B.N. Rau

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
10th May 1948

My dear Sir B.N. Rau,

I am enclosing herewith an interesting article on our Draft Constitution. There are certain points in it which appeal to me and you may give your consideration to them although I do not know if it will at all be possible to introduce changes in the Draft to bring them in. For example, I like the idea of making the Constitution begin with the village and go up to the Centre. The Government of India Act started with the Centre and then went down to the Provinces leaving the still lower bases to be dealt with by the Provinces. We have followed the same model. The idea is to reverse the process and start with the village which has been and will ever continue to be our unit in this country. As far as I can judge, it will involve re-drafting of some articles and their re-arrangement. But if we leave the

Provinces and the Centre more or less as they are the changes will not be so very fundamental and will put the whole thing in the right perspective. There is also the idea of utilising the adult franchise only for the village Panchayat and making the village Panchayats the electoral college for electing representatives to the Provinces and the Centre. I strongly advocate this and as a matter of fact the Congress constitution, which has recently been passed at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee, proceeds on this line. I am not sure if you have seen that constitution. I am, therefore, explaining this aspect of it in a few words. The idea is to treat every adult as a voter for the village Panchayat but those who will be elected to the village Panchayat will have to possess certain qualifications. It will be the members of the village Panchayats who will elect the delegates to the Congress on population basis—one representative for so many inhabitants covered by the Panchayat. The delegates in their turn will elect the members of the A.I.C.C. As the delegates will be from all the Provinces, those belonging to a particular Province will constitute the Provincial Congress Committee of that Province. The persons who are to be elected as delegates have to [possess] certain additional qualifications. We have thus a gradation of membership. At the base is the adult who possesses no other qualification than that he is an adult and is not disqualified on account of being an idiot etc. He elects the village Panchayat. The candidates for being elected to the village Panchayats have to possess certain qualifications which are laid down, namely, being habitual wearer of khadi etc. It is these members of the Panchayat who constitute the voters for election to the committees and delegates to the Congress. But those who have to be elected as delegates or as members of committees have to possess certain additional qualifications, namely, that they should be workers in the cause of the Congress (qualifications are laid down in detail). Mr. Venkatramani suggests something of this sort for our Constitution also. The only difficulty that I feel is about the qualifications of those who have to be elected either as members of the Panchayat or to Assemblies. In the Congress constitution it was easy enough to lay down qualifications which appealed and applied to Congressmen but it would not be so easy to lay down qualifications for our legislatures. You know that Dr. Bhagwan Das has been trying for more than a quarter of a century to impress on us the desirability of insisting upon qualifications of members to Assemblies. He derives all his inspirations and ideas from our old law givers and Hindu Shastras and tries to reconcile them with modern conception. Judging from the qualities of many of the men and women who are returned to legislatures on party tickets nowadays, I feel inclined to putting some check on the kind of men who can get into our legislatures. It is a most serious business of law-making that they have to perform. Law-making may be even more difficult than law-interpreting but we insist upon legal knowledge and judicial training for our judges but insist upon no qualifications for our legislators except that they have secured the support of a party to get them elected and, as we know, this support is not given in all cases on the merit of the candidate as a person who can make laws. So, if it is at all possible to bring in some qualifications for the candidates I would personally like it. If we

could thus secure better quality of voters by confining the exercise of adult franchise to the election of Panchayats and making the Panchayat members, who may be expected to be of somewhat higher calibre than the mere adult voters, and at the same time we could improve the quality of the men to be elected by insisting upon some qualification for the candidate, we shall improve very considerably the quality of our Legislative Assemblies. In a country like England where the system has been in vogue for a long time, traditions and conventions have made the working of the Constitution efficient but we need some such safeguard in India where we do not have the same traditions to begin with. I would, therefore, request you to consider this matter.

As regards the other points raised in the article, they are not of such fundamental nature but merit consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sir B.N. Rau
Constitutional Adviser
Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

52. To Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
10th May 1948

My dear Dr. Ghosh,

I have received your letter dated the 8th May. I have also received a report of the proceedings of the Party meeting that was held. I am sorry for the situation which was created. As I told you in the very beginning, I do not like quick changes in the Ministry and when I was in Calcutta those friends who came to see me received nothing but discouragement from me. I noticed somehow that did not appeal to them and you also got involved in the matter. However, what is past is past. As regards the question of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries taking part in no-confidence motion in the Ministry, I think it is not for one who is a Minister to take part in any movement for ousting or displacing the Ministry so long as he continues to be a member of the Cabinet or even a Parliamentary Secretary. It would be impossible for any Prime Minister to carry on if his own colleagues were intriguing or participating in movement for the Prime Minister and other colleagues being ousted. This is the attitude which we have taken in all Provinces. It is certainly open to any Minister to resign if he finds himself in disagreement with his colleagues to such an extent that he feels that the Ministry should

resign and, after giving up his own post, to take part in any movement for displacing the Ministry but not until he has resigned he should take part in this. It is on this basis that Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries who have joined any such movement have been asked in other Provinces to resign. We are insisting upon Chaudhury Lehri Singh's going out of Punjab Ministry because he has done the same. Therefore, when Dr. Roy mentioned to me that after his opponents fail in the Party meeting he would not like to retain the Ministers who had signed the requisition and I said he would be perfectly justified in doing so. I find that in the new Ministry that has been formed they have not been taken and before leaving them out Dr. Roy consulted me on telephone and I gave my consent to leave them out. I have recently received a letter in which they have offered an apology for the mistake and have promised to be loyal to Dr. Roy. It is not a question of breach of discipline but a question of enjoying the confidence of the Prime Minister and being able to carry out [policies] determined by the Cabinet loyally. A man cannot be made a member of the Cabinet simply because he has committed no breach of discipline. He must in addition enjoy the confidence of his colleagues and it cannot be said of the Ministers who had done that.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
14/8 Gariahata Road
Ballygunge, Calcutta.

53. *To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Pratap Singh*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
10th May 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand/Sardar Pratap Singh,

You know the Himachal Pradesh comprising the Simla Hills States has been recently created with the Chief Commissioner as its Head Administrator. The Praja Mandals that were working within these States have now become Congress Committees and one Committee corresponding to the Provincial Congress Committee has been formed. As the workers have been associated with the All-India States' People's Conference and not the Indian National Congress, they are not familiar with the Congress methods of work and are also new to the work in many respects. They also would require every kind of assistance for setting their office in order. This is to request you to give them such assistance as they may need. I may introduce to you Dr. Y.S. Parmar, Member of the A.I.C.C. for

Himachal Pradesh, and Shri Sant Ram who is nominated to work as Provisional Secretary on behalf of the A.I.C.C.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

54. From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Sinha Library Road
P.B. No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
10th May 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I was delighted to receive yesterday your kind and affectionate letter of the 7th. I have advisedly refrained from writing to you all this time, knowing (from the Press reports) that you were flitting about from place to place. I hope you are in fairly good health, and will now stay at Delhi for some time. Besides the letter, I had also sent you some cuttings, showing how you are at present the best-abused man in the Press of Bengal and Orissa. I could send you daily many more cuttings but have not done so, as I know you will not be able to go through them.

Yes, I shall try my best to come to the July session of the Constituent Assembly. You will consult people there whether 12th will not be a little too early, to begin with our work. If so advised, you will kindly make the opening date one week later, that is, on the 19th, *if practicable*, but not otherwise.

Three nights back I heard on the radio that the two Singhbhum States would integrate to Bihar, and I thought it had been settled as announced. Yesterday, there was in *The Statesman* the same news sent from Delhi. But yesterday afternoon an announcement was made that the matter was still under consideration. I have never concealed my opinion, and I know you share it with me, that there has been serious bungling in this matter. I also hope that there may be a favourable decision. But in so far as it concerns the amalgamation of Sarguja and Jashpur with Bihar, let us hope things will be set right before long; though the language of your letter on this part of our case is not encouraging.

I have noted with great satisfaction what you have said in your letter under reply, that there is no likelihood of change of boundaries of the existing Provinces, other than the creation of the four you have mentioned. But you should remember that the creation of Maharashtra will mean the break-up of the Central Provinces and Berar, and you must consider how you will solve that problem so far as the Hindi-speaking areas of the Central Provinces are concerned. For the rest your Bengali Congressmen are up in arms, and only day before yesterday they held a big demonstration in Calcutta, a report of the proceedings of which I am enclosing herewith for your information. I earnestly hope however that you and Jawaharlal and Sardar Patel will remain firm on this

point; otherwise I apprehend serious trouble in connection with this matter.

Trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
Sachchidananda Sinha

Enclosure not included.

55. *To Tarun Kumar Mozumdar*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 10th May 1948

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated the 30th April. I am afraid it will not be possible today to make Sanskrit the official language and its learning compulsory in all educational institutions for everybody. It is not possible within the compass of a letter to give the reasons in detail but I may mention that whatever the merits of the language may be—and they are undoubtedly great—it is not the spoken language anywhere at present which was not the case with English which is spoken over large parts of the globe. Even Persian, when it was the court language here in India during the Muslim rule in some places, was the spoken language of some of the rulers and of at least Afghanistan and Persia. It is, therefore, not possible to make Sanskrit, which as a language has great capacity but which nevertheless is not a spoken language, the official language in India.

As regards your other suggestions about uniformity of dress and meals and eradication of provincialism, I think they are worth considering, but the initiative must come from the Provinces where the feeling is strongest. I do not know if it will be practicable to make all appointments in public offices of people from outside the Provinces because very often the question of language and knowledge of the locality may present many difficulties.

I thank you for the trouble that you have taken in giving thought to these problems.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shree Tarun Kumar Mozumdar, M.A., B.L.
P.O. and Village Paikpara, Dacca.

56. From Dr. Gopichand Bhargava

CONFIDENTIAL

D.O. No. P.A.P. 639/48

Simla
11th May 1948

My dear Babuji,

When I met you last I had brought to your notice various statements issued by Shri Bhimsen Sachar. I had pointed out that this sort of propaganda is undermining the discipline and prestige of the Congress Party. You were kind enough to say that you would look into the matter. I am now enclosing one more statement issued by Shri Sachar and also a letter addressed by him to Pandit Jiwan Lal.* These documents will convince you that Shri Sachar has no intention of giving up his present activities.

I would like to know your opinion whether the Parliamentary Board is prepared to take any action against Shri Bhimsen Sachar or not. As you know, so far I have kept quiet. I have not issued a single statement in reply to the various statements issued by him. I feel that we should not wash our dirty linen in the public. The best course for him would have been to approach you or the Parliamentary Board. Instead he has been doing everything possible to undermine the discipline of the Party and to bring disrepute to its leader. In these circumstances either I should be allowed to reply to his statements so that I may remove the misunderstandings which are being created in the public mind against me or Shri Sachar should be asked to stop this propaganda. I would submit that no Party can function properly and no Leader can maintain discipline in the Party if the members are allowed to criticise the actions of the Leader in the Press. I have suffered heavily already as I did not want to make our Party a laughing stock of the whole world but Shri Sachar has not cared a bit for the discipline. In these circumstances I would like your advice and guidance. I think I have a right to expect protection from the Parliamentary Board. Either they should take disciplinary action against Shri Sachar so that other members should also know that this sort of propaganda cannot be allowed or I should be permitted to place my case before the public. I expect an early reply because the matter is very urgent.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister, East Punjab

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
New Delhi.

*See Appendices.

57. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
11th May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Please refer to your letters dated the 25th February and 24th April, regarding the Congress Sewa Dal. I am very sorry that no earlier reply was sent partly because of my illness and partly because of my absence from Delhi.

I could appreciate the Government's position if it were to discriminate between Congress volunteer organisations etc. of a semi-military character. There could be no discrimination if the method and the objective of the volunteer organisations are the same but I submit that the Congress volunteer organisation stands on a completely different footing. The Congress has ever since 1920 accepted as a part of its creed non-violence and all organisations under it have to accept that creed. Therefore there can be no comparison between the Congress organisation based on truth and non-violence and any other organisation which does not have a similar creed. Secondly, the Congress Sewa Dal does not indulge in drills, marches, etc., of a semi-military character. It does give some exercise for physical fitness of its members but they are not intended to be and are not of a military character although elementary parade may be included in their routine. I will suggest that the Government should consider whether an organisation could be used for military or semi-military purposes and the ban should apply only if it could be so used. I submit that the Congress Sewa Dal cannot be so used. I do not think that it is necessary for the Congress to give assurance to the Government that its entire structure including that of the Sewa Dal is based on non-violence. If any such assurance is needed I am prepared to give it. I hope therefore that the Government will not ban the Congress volunteer organisation.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

58. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

11th May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received a letter from the Secretary, Gandhi National Memorial Fund, Orissa (copy enclosed), asking me to get the sanction of the Government for the use of the All India Radio at Cuttack for propaganda for collection of the Memorial Fund. At present the rules do not allow such use. It is a question of policy on which the Government has to take decision. I have tried to keep the collection of funds as free from official association as possible although I have

asked officers to contribute. Personally I do not feel like making a request for a change of the existing rule, but I think this is not the last request of this kind that will come to me, and it may be that requests from other Provinces will come. I have, therefore, to request you to consider the matter and give your decision which will of course apply to all the provincial stations of All India Radio.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for Information & Broadcasting,
Government of India
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

59. *To V. Shankar*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
11th May 1948

My dear Shankar,

I have received the accompanying letter from Sardar Pratap Singh, Minister, East Punjab Government, and Member of the Congress Working Committee. I believe the letter addressed to Sardar referred to in Sardar Pratap Singh's letter has reached him. You will please write to Sardar Pratap Singh direct in reply.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

V. Shankar, Esq., I.C.S.
Private Secretary to Hon'ble Home Minister
Camp: Mussoorie.

Enclosure not included.

60. *From Charan Singh*

Civil Secretariat, U.P.
Lucknow
May 11, 1948

Dear Sir,

I enclose for your perusal a cutting containing an editorial of *The Pioneer* dated 11th May 1948. To my mind there is sense in what it says. I send this on to you

thinking that obviously you are the best person to take this matter up with our leaders in the Government.

Hoping to be excused.

I am,
Sincerely yours,
Charan Singh
Member, A.I.C.C.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(An editorial in *The Pioneer*)

THE INDIAN BABEL

"Nothing", wrote de Gaulle before he became garrulous, "strengthens authority so much as silence." Was anyone so taciturn as Bonaparte? The Grand Army followed his example. "I have known officers", wrote Vigny, "who developed themselves in a Trappist silence and never spoke except to give an order." Democratic leaders functioning in peace-time are likely to be misunderstood if they do not from time to time explain in their public statements and utterances the implications of their policies and programmes adopted in the interest of the welfare of the nation. But if the leaders are shrewd and have their fingers on the pulse of the people they know when to substitute action, which is more eloquent than words, for speeches. Unfortunately in the Indian Union the majority of our leaders have been turned into human Niagaras flooding the country with a suffocating amount of words. Their statements are often conflicting and cancel out each other to the bafflement of the public. One day a leader warns his countrymen that they are surrounded by enemies and must make feverish preparations to meet the aggression which is imminent. The following day another top-ranking leader points out that India has nothing to fear from any quarter and that if the people would only cultivate brotherly love for their neighbours and tread the Gandhian way they would be immortalised in the pages of history as the path-finder for a tortured world. A third leader seeks to initiate the people into the principles of democracy by pointing out that unity is not to be mistaken for soulless uniformity and that the fruits of freedom can be enjoyed best by stimulating the interplay of the various forces in the country, of course within constitutional limits. A fourth, for instance Defence Minister Sardar Baldev Singh, expresses his alarm and despondency at the emergence of diverse political parties in the country and stridently proclaims publicly that

"today above all, India needs one leader, one party, one programme". To whom are the people to turn for guidance? A leader's mission is to direct the action of others and it is imperative for him to know to what good he intends to lead them. Here in this country the leaders occupying high office do not seem to have a clear idea of their objectives. They send up myriad rockets of brilliant phrases which only dazzle the people without providing a steady light illumining the path they are expected to traverse. What is needed at the moment is a leaders' conclave wherein will be decided the main objectives of the nation and the manner in which they will be reached. Only after they have reached a basic agreement on the broad essentials should the leaders tell the people what to do in the present crisis. Such directives should be clear, precise, and severely limited in number. The present practice—wholly pernicious—of speaking almost twice daily after meals at public meetings must cease, for a plethora of speeches dilutes thought and dissipates the concentration that is required for grappling with the problems of the day. On vital issues affecting the security of the country the leaders should tell publicly what is necessary in the interests of the people, and only when it must be told.

61. *From Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar*

GOVERNMENT OF WEST BENGAL
(JUDICIAL & LEGISLATIVE MINISTRY)

Writers Buildings
Calcutta
12th May 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Babu,

Kindly read the enclosed statement on the subject of incorporation of Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar into the Province of West Bengal, which will speak for itself. I shall be glad to receive your reaction to the ideas advanced in it as well as any advice you may have to give as to what should be done about the matter.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Press statement by Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar, Member, Executive Council,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee)

There is an insistent demand for enlargement of the areas of the West Bengal Province by incorporation of all Bengali-speaking tracts within the Indian Union. This demand is daily growing in volume and intensity both in the Press and platforms. I am not sure, however, whether the importance and urgency of solving the question is as yet sufficiently realised in every quarter. The hands of the Government of the Indian Union are pretty full of preoccupations elsewhere. There may be a desire on that account to postpone consideration of such questions for the present. It is however desirable from every point of view that the question of delimitation of provincial boundaries should better be done before the new Constitution comes into force. For, after all, the Indian Union is going to be a Union of constituent units, such as Provinces and States, whose delimitations should not be left in a state of uncertainty. That would give rise to many complications and make the internal situation worse from day to day. If such issues are not faced and tackled boldly forthwith, the internal situation in India is likely to deteriorate owing to complications of an inter-provincial nature; whereas, in reality, the question of enlargement and strengthening of the Province of West Bengal should be, not a provincial question at all, but rather a question, from the standpoint of the Indian Union, of strengthening one of her eastern frontier Provinces which has suffered worst calamities in recent years and is now confronted with enormous problems which are peculiarly its own. If that is realised both by the fellow-Congressmen and leaders in our sister Province of Bihar as well as by the leaders of the Indian Union, it should not be difficult to solve the question of enlargement of West Bengal Province as in the interest of all alike. If West Bengal as a Province of Indian Union cannot be safe and strong, the safety of Bihar as of the whole Union will be in jeopardy. Such questions must therefore be approached, not from the standpoint of narrow provincialism, but from that of the best interests of the Indian Union of which we are citizens first and Bengalis or Biharis afterwards.

22/2/57

The stress and strain of circumstances which make the question of the enlargement of West Bengal Province of compelling urgency may be briefly summarised as follows:

Under the Radcliffe Award West Bengal has got an area of approximately 29,770 sq. miles, losing the best part of jute, much of tea industry and paddy lands. Its population has come down to 2,11,80,000. So it has been affected not only territorially but also economically. It is, therefore, imperatively necessary that it should be enlarged by including Bengali-speaking tracts, viz. Manbhum, Dhalbhum, Santal Parganas and Purnea which were once part of Bengal but now lie within Bihar. The Nehru Committee which was an all-parties committee recommended the formation of the Provinces on this basis. In their resolution of

1928 the Bengal Provincial Conference suggested that the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar be amalgamated with Bengal. These were preceded by the following in order to achieve the same object:

- (1) The Government of India despatch dated 15.8.1911.
- (2) King's Durbar speech of 1911.
- (3) The resolution of the Indian National Congress in 1911 (proposed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parmeswar Lal, a leading politician of Bihar).
- (4) Statements of prominent leaders of Bihar in 1912.
- (5) The Representation of the Indian Association to Mr. Montagu and the Governor-General in 1917.
- (6) The Simon Commission Report.

The grounds for inclusion of the areas stated above need not be set forth at length here. The following chart will give a short description of the areas as regards population, language, etc., and will speak for itself.

Place	Name of sub-division	Area in sq. miles	Total population	No. of Bengali-speaking population	No. of population speaking other languages
Manbhum	Sadar	3,308	12,89,798	10,46,653	62,209
	Dhanbad	787			
Dhalbhum	Itself a sub-division (including Jamshedpur)	1,160	5,21,092	1,76,036	2,59,421
Santal Parganas	Jamtara	693	2,43,858	73,091	70,362
	Dumka	732	2,33,078	42,000	28,000
	Rajmahal	370	1,66,000	34,000	22,000
	Pakur	700	2,75,574	68,792	44,455
Purnea	Sadar	2,575	11,11,799	86,691	
	Kishenganj	1,346	5,60,677	59,398	

N.B. The figures against Dumka are for half of Dumka.

Throughout British administration attempts have been made to cripple Bengal. This commences from Curzon's partition and terminates with the Radcliffe Award. Under the Award West Bengal stands divided into two portions, north and south, with no connecting link or contiguous territory. Present West Bengal cannot be economically self-sufficient. It can hardly bear the pressure of its population and so it will not be able to accommodate the refugees and evacuees who are steadily pouring in from Eastern Pakistan.

Since the principle of linguistic distribution of Provinces has been recognised it is desirable that all the Bengali-speaking population and tracts should be

amalgamated with West Bengal. As West Bengal is now regarded as a frontier Province of India the security of the Indian Union may not be ensured if this amalgamation is not effected.

In this view of the matter I would appeal to fellow-Congressmen and leaders in Bihar, in joint deliberations with representatives of West Bengal, to settle this question early and make it impossible for elements of doubtful goodwill towards the Congress to get a handle in this issue to launch an irredentist movement of an undesirable and reactionary pattern. I am sure friends in Bihar will thereby help to undo the wrongs done to Bengal by the British power and immensely strengthen our common national state of the Indian Union. I am confident the leaders and workers of the Congress in Bihar will rise to the height of the occasion and make a small sacrifice of their present territories in order to undo the great wrongs done to Bengal in the past and thereby earn the gratitude of all India. The entire national movement of India stands committed to undo that wrong, initiated by Curzon and consummated at the hands of Radcliffe.

62. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Birla House
Mussoorie
12th May 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th May 1948 regarding the Oriya weekly *Praja Mitra* and the arrest of two Congressmen in Chhatisgarh States.

2. As regards the legal point taken up by you, under the Provincial Extra Jurisdiction Act, we have delegated powers to the Government of Orissa to extend to the Orissa States any enactment in operation in Orissa Province. They have probably extended the provisions of the Orissa Maintenance of Public Order Act to the Orissa States and, therefore, the action taken is quite legal. As regards the propriety of that action, it is only the Orissa Government which can explain it. I am, therefore, writing to Mahtab to find out what the facts are.

3. As regards the two Congressmen, I received a protest from the Bihar Premier sometime ago. I then wrote to Shuklaji and I understand that the two Congressmen have now been released.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
1. Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

63. *From Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

PERSONAL

14/8 Gariahata Road
Ballygunge
Calcutta
14 May 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

In Delhi I had talks with you about the possibility of my working in Eastern Bengal. You liked my going there as a private citizen. So did I. Jawaharlalji did not like the idea. He asked me to go there as Joint High Commissioner which I did not like. Therefore, more or less reluctantly, I dropped the idea of going to East Bengal. Although you preferred my going as a private citizen, yet between my not going there at all and accepting the responsibility of Joint High Commissionership you preferred the latter. Shankarrao did not like the idea of my going there as Joint High Commissioner. After coming to Calcutta, I consulted friends. Many wanted me to go there as a private citizen. But between my not going and going as Joint High Commissioner, everyone wanted me to go there as Joint High Commissioner. Of course, there are some who did not like the idea of my going to Eastern Bengal at all. So, ultimately, under pressure of events, I have decided to go as Joint High Commissioner to Eastern Bengal. I sent my formal approval to Jawaharlalji by wire yesterday. I do not know how you would all feel. But when both Jawaharlalji and Rajaji feel that at this critical time I should go there, it is difficult to say repeatedly 'No'.

I know that in all my work you have rendered me all possible help and given me advice like an elder brother. I hope I shall continue to receive that friendly and brotherly guidance from you wherever and under whatsoever circumstances I may be.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

64. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Birla House
Mussoorie
14th May 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 10th May which I received the day before yesterday.

I myself feel that the expenditure which has been approved could have been met more properly from Government funds and is a legitimate charge on the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry. In matters of this kind, unless there is some distinction between the scope of private charity and non-official enterprise and the field of assistance by Government, there would be confusion as well as duplication. Housing schemes could be better and more appropriately financed by Government, whereas our own funds could be utilised for purposes like Widow Homes, temporary assistance to refugees in the matter of clothes, etc. I see no reason why even now the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry should not be approached and requested to make a grant of Rs.2 lakhs. If they do make it, as I hope they will, then I suggest that the amount of Rs.2 lakhs should be reccredited to the Punjab Relief Fund.

Since you have written to me that I should send you a cheque immediately, I am enclosing one for Rs.2 lakhs (Rupees two lakhs only),* and do not think it desirable to delay matters by further correspondence.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

*Cheque No. 09332, dt. 13.5.1948, for Rs.2 lakhs on U.C. Bank, New Delhi.

65. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Birla House
Mussoorie
14th May 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

I am sending herewith a copy of the correspondence that has passed between me and Jawaharlal regarding Birla House. I feel that we should not submit to a wrong in this matter and that we should give a proper lead to the public and to the party, rather than yield to pressure.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

Enclosure 1:

(Copy of letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel)

No. 736/PM

New Delhi
7th May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Ghanshyamdas Birla. I am being pressed continuously in this matter and I doubt very much if the agitation will go down by any lapse of time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp: Birla House, New Delhi.

Enclosure 2:

(Copy of letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Ghanshyamdas Birla)

PERSONAL & SECRET

New Delhi
7 May 1948

My dear Ghanshyamdasji,

You know that ever since Bapu's death there has been a strong and persistent agitation about Birla House in New Delhi. Throughout the Assembly session, I received requisitions from over a hundred members of the Assembly and questions were asked at our Party meetings. This matter was raised again and again and there was almost a unanimous sense of our members that Birla House, because of the tragedy occurred there, should belong to the nation. I did not think this was the correct approach to this problem and I tried my utmost, with a great deal of success, to prevent the question being raised in the House. I promised that I would consult you and some of my colleagues.

The matter is obviously a delicate one and I can quite appreciate your feelings about it. I realise also that Bapu would not have liked you to be inconvenienced in any way. Nevertheless it is true that there is a very strong feeling in this matter and that feeling does not pay too much attention to personal considerations. I appreciate that feeling myself and can understand that. But for my part I would not like that feeling to induce us to take any action contrary to your wishes in the matter.

It is clear, however, that the feeling will continue and will be a constant source of embarrassment to all of us. I have given careful thought to this matter and wanted to discuss it with you, but unfortunately I have found no occasion to do so.

I am now writing to you to put forward a proposal for your consideration. I might add that this particular proposal has not been mentioned in the Congress Party in the Assembly or to anyone else except to two or three persons. The proposal is that Birla House, that is, the entire building, should not be touched and should remain in your personal use. But the place in the garden where Bapu used to have his prayer meetings and the place where he was shot might be separated from the House and the rest of the garden and used as a memorial or a place where people could visit. It could be left more or less as it is, as it would be a pity to change it. Some minor alterations might be necessary, and the spot where Bapu was shot down might be clearly indicated by a small pillar or column three feet high. This area might be separated from the main house and grounds and connected separately with the public road. Exactly where the line of demarcation should come can be considered later. The first question to be decided is whether you would wish some such thing to be done.

I have long hesitated to write to you on this subject, but I feel that I must do so now and clear up, if possible, this matter. I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly let me have your views about this suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla
Birla House, New Delhi.

Enclosure 3:

(Copy of a letter dated the 12th May 1948 from Ghanshyamdas Birla to Jawaharlal Nehru)

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 7th May about Birla House. I need hardly say how much I appreciate, and how grateful I am, for the kind thought and consideration which prompted you to consult my wishes in the matter.

In a sense a decision on the question is for me quite an easy one. As I told Sardarji and as, I believe, he has told you already, I am entirely at your or his disposal. Either of you has merely to give the word and you will not find me hesitant to comply despite my undoubted and deep sentimental attachment to the house. Nevertheless, I should not be human if I did not have an emotional approach to the question. From what I say below you will realise that my attachment is not confined to personal and family associations only, but far transcends those comparatively insignificant limits and encompasses those

valuable contacts and memories of public life which have become a part of my being and the divorce from which would certainly mean a wrench too terrible to contemplate.

Bapu came for the first time to occupy this house in 1932. Except for a short period when he stayed at the Harijan Colony or the Bhangi Colony, he consistently stayed in this house. Malviyaji too from time to time occupied this house for many years. Sardarji too honoured me with his stay for the last few years off and on. I had the privilege also of acting as a host to many other leaders including Rajendra Babu, Panditji, Bhulabhai, Munshiji, Shankarrao Deoji, Balasahib Kher and others. And I had also the proud privilege of having you too as my guest for a few days.

Many important political decisions of far-reaching consequences have been taken in this house, which, undoubtedly, has added to its importance and its historical value. Many important meetings of the Working Committee were held in this house and the first meeting of the Congress Cabinet was held in this house immediately the Congress assumed power in 1946. I have passed the best part of my life in this house where I have from my youth reached now the stage of the declining age. Every tree in the house is planted and nursed under my care. I have seen the trees growing, blossoming and giving fruits. I know the individual history of each tree: The garden, the rose-beds and the flowerbeds were designed and laid by me which naturally became a part of my limbs.

The house has thus become for me a store-house of memories and recollections which constitute for me a book into which I can delve deep to recall, with pride, with deep emotion, with a sense of glory and with profound sentiment, a past that has gone to build up every fibre of my frail body and every tissue of my mind. The man in the street may not appreciate this aspect of the case, but I am very gratified to learn that both you and Sardarji are fully cognisant of it. Indeed it is already clear to me from your letter that that recognition has caused you not a little embarrassment in dealing with the pressure which has been exerted on you from more than one quarter.

Indeed some of them, among whom I can count some legislators and some who profess to be my friends, went to such extreme as to suggest compulsory acquisition of the house. And with compensation if necessary! They little seemed to make any allowance for the nobility of human nature which would shun and spurn any idea of reducing this matter into an ordinary market transaction or to give even a moment's thought to the fact that thereby they were making the memory of a great soul cheap and trash. And, coming to the personal aspect of it, I do not think they could have heaped a greater insult on, and done a more grievous wrong to, one who, to the best of his lights, served the Great Master for 32 years than to suggest that its value to him could be measured in terms of filthy lucre.

I hope I have said enough to open out my heart to you on this subject. It is for you to assess the various factors involved. You have also referred to Bapu's feelings. It is for you and the Nation to judge whether a fitting memorial could be

raised to him by doing violence to these feelings. I am quite prepared to subordinate my own sentiments and attachments to your commands and if you feel that the interests of the Nation demand that I should leave the house and the premises, believe me, I would not waste a moment in complying with your wish. How could it be otherwise, for I have throughout believed that I belong to the Nation? But I would beg of you not to entertain even for a moment any thought of dissecting the premises. One might ask one to cut one's own child into two and give up one piece and retain the other! The house and the premises as a whole treasure Bapu's sacred memory and I would prefer that the whole rather than a part remains an object of hallowed memory.

Finally, let me once again express to you my gratitude for the opportunity you have given to me to express my thought and feelings on the matter and the assurance that whatever decision you will take will find from me instant compliance.

Enclosure 4:

(Copy of D.O. letter dated the 13th May 1948 from Vallabhbhai Patel, Camp: Mussoorie, to Jawaharlal Nehru)

Thank you for your letter No. 736/PM dated the 7th May 1948, with which you enclosed a copy of your letter to Ghanshyamdas.

As you know, I hold very strong views on this matter. I feel that morally we would be quite wrong in yielding to pressure. No amount of pressure can make what is morally unjust and unfair, right and proper. If, therefore, we are convinced that the public outcry and clamour are misconceived and wrong, it is our duty to say so and not to yield to such pressure. I myself feel that this public clamour would never have attained these dimensions if we had been bold enough to give a correct lead by making known our own opinion publicly to the people. I was told that at the Wardha meeting Vinoba Bhaveji, Kishorelal Mashruwala and others agreed to do so, but unfortunately no letter issued with the result that the movement gathered momentum. I asked Rajen Babu, when he came here, about this, and he said he forgot to send the letter. Nor can I see how, in the face of our clear conviction that Bapu would never have put up with this idea, we can take over the house, as it were, as a memorial to Bapu; or, as some might like to say so, as a reminder to the Nation of a tragedy that overtook it. It would be a strange way of doing things, if we base a memorial to a great soul on something which would displease that soul most grievously and affect it most painfully. Personally, I cannot conceive of a more objectionable way of perpetuating

Bapu's memory or of bequeathing to the Nation and to posterity a reminder of that Great Tragedy.

I have known Ghanshyamdas through Bapu for more than twenty-five years. The relations between Bapu and him were those of a father and son; he had a spiritual bond with him which Bapu fully recognised and Ghanshyamdas maintained to the full and to the end. But never throughout our long connections has he taken any undue advantage of these ties or exploited them. He is a man of honourable character and straightforward views in life. Despite the calumny indulged in by some malignantly disposed persons, I am quite prepared to say that his association with both of us has been above reproach and entirely unselfish. Had it been otherwise, both Bapu and myself would have been the last persons to have spared him. It is, therefore, impossible for me to be a party to the proposal which, in my opinion, involves violence of the worst kind to the feelings of both Ghanshyamdas and Bapu.

I have, therefore, no doubt that the right and proper course for us is to hold firmly and strongly to our innermost convictions and resist the pressure for depriving Ghanshyamdas of his house. But for my very close and intimate connections with him, I would certainly have spoken out publicly long ago. On account of that handicap, therefore, I can only communicate to you my views for consideration. I hope you will reconsider the matter and reach that conclusion which I feel is inevitable, and which alone, I am convinced, would prevent the perpetration of a great injustice and a grievous wrong. Should you, however, feel that we must yield to public pressure, I would suggest that before we go any further, we should be clear in our own mind as to what we propose to do with the house and premises, and whether it should be taken over by Government or by a non-official Trust etc. You must not lose sight of the fact that if the house is to be taken over it should be maintained in its present condition and it would cost—whatever authority takes it over—five to six thousand rupees a month in maintenance etc. We should also be careful in deciding upon the use to which we are going to put this house and how we can implement and carry out the object which we might set before us.

Further, I feel that, if we take the house over, we should at least in all decency give Ghanshyamdas a suitable alternative site, for which he will gladly pay adequate price, where he could build a house for himself in Delhi. It would, in my opinion, be adding insult to injury, if we took from him this house and left him, as it were, on the streets. Through many years of valuable contacts with men, prominent in business and public life, he has established for himself a position of a host to so many prominent personalities. It would be a great blow to him and his prestige and standing in public life if we rendered him incapable of discharging these obligations. I would, therefore, suggest that if we take over the house, we should give him full facilities to resettle on another suitable site, making full allowance for his public and private needs.

66. To Vallabhbhai Patel

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
14th May 1948

My dear Sardar,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 10th May. We have a meeting in Bombay in connection with Indian National Trade Union Congress on the 16th and 17th. They have asked me to inaugurate it and so I am going there tomorrow. On my way back I propose to spend two or three days at Abu and reach Delhi on the night of the 20th or the morning of the 21st. I will reach Mussoorie on the 23rd at the latest so that we shall have at least one day before the conference meets. There are various other matters about which I would like to have a talk with you. Amongst these, the situation in Delhi is one. The situation here is deteriorating very fast and people tell me that not only is the R.S.S. reorganising itself or rather coming out in the open once again because the organisation has now been disbanded but that there is whispering campaign going all round particularly among refugees that there may be trouble any time. Some incidents have already occurred. There was a stabbing case three days ago and a shooting incident day before yesterday. These are indications of the coming burst-up. Congress people here, one and all, complain against the local officials whom they charge with communal bias, particularly the Deputy Commissioner, the Chief Commissioner being more or less a non-entity. The Inspector General of Police who tried to keep the balance has been transferred and his place is going to be taken by someone from the Punjab. The idea of all that complain is that the Punjabis have suffered much and are naturally bitter in their heart and if in Delhi the situation has to be kept in control the key positions should be occupied by people from outside the Punjab. They say that it may not be difficult to get officers of good repute from U.P. or from some other Provinces because Delhi is an all-India Province and it can very well requisition the services of officers from any Province the Government choose. I will speak to you more in detail about these things when we meet but I tried to pass on whatever information I have got so that you may be fully posted and take such steps as you consider necessary to control the situation.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

P.S. After the above was typed I have come to know some facts about the Delhi situation of which it is necessary to apprise you. Two or three days ago there was a conference of Socialists in Delhi in which very bitter speeches were delivered attacking the Government for not taking action against Hyderabad and also inciting the people at large against the Government. All this is said to have been done because of the Government failure to deal with Hyderabad firmly. It has naturally its communal aspects and has succeeded in

rousing passion. I am told they are having meetings all over the old city delivering such speeches. Some of the houses vacated by the Muslims which were not occupied till now have been occupied by Socialists or their nominees.

There is a persistent rumour that 15th June is fixed as a date for something big happening and panic is growing. It is feared that R.S.S. might do something on that date. I am told that R.S.S. people have a plan of creating trouble. They have got a number of men dressed as Muslims and looking like Muslims who are to create trouble with the Hindus by attacking them and thus inciting the Hindus. Similarly there will be some Hindus among them who will attack the Muslims and thus incite the Muslims. The result of this kind of trouble amongst the Hindus and Muslims will be to create a conflagration. The transfer of the I.G. who knows Delhi and is able to control the situation at such a critical juncture might itself complicate the situation, particularly because his successor will be new to the place and will be a Punjabi and, I am told, has not a good reputation in communal matters. I am passing all this information for what it is worth.

Rajendra Prasad

67. *To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
15th May 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I have received your confidential letter dated the 11th May about Shri Bhimsen Sachar's activities. I have seen also Press cutting of the statement issued by him as also his letter to Pt. Jiwan Lal. I agree that it serves no useful purpose to ventilate differences in the Press and letter. On the other hand it has the effect of creating undesirable impression on the public mind. But the fact remains that practically the whole Assembly consists of Congressmen without any opposition worth the name and the Assembly proceeding, if strict Party discipline is maintained, is likely to be reduced to some formal debate, i.e. what is happening in several other Assemblies also. Personally I am not very happy over this kind of one-party Parliament where under Party discipline no one is permitted to offer any criticism and bring any action of the Government to vote. It may be said that everything can be discussed within the Party where there is full freedom for every member to speak. Discussion in the Party is private and can take the place of discussions in the Assembly which are public and which, apart from instructing the public, also give an opportunity to get in touch with what is happening within the Government. Personally I have, therefore, felt that some measure will have to be devised by which action of Congressmen should be justified before the public. Suppression is likely to create, as has done already in many places, a very wrong

abolished, for whatever reasons it may be, but is retained in some cases, there seems to be no reason why, in particular, Trade, Commerce and Industry should have been deprived of it. The memorandum submitted by them may be placed before the Drafting Committee for its consideration. They have given sufficient copies for all the members of the Committee which are forwarded herewith.

Rajendra Prasad

The Secretary
Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi.

71. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Abu
18th May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thanks for your letter dated 12th May regarding the Orissa Praja Mandal and the arrest of 2 Congressmen of Bihar in a Chhatisgarh State. My intention was to draw your attention to what I believe to be an abuse of such extraordinary powers. I referred to the legality of the order because I had my doubts, and I am not sure even now, that the Legislature of Orissa can pass any Act which can apply to any State even after delegation of powers by the Government of India. Anyhow this is a matter which has to be considered by courts, if it is taken there. I am not very much concerned with that. But I object to the suppression of expression of public opinion by the use of extraordinary powers under the Maintenance of Public Order Act in such matters on which public opinion should be not only allowed to be expressed but welcomed. The same remarks apply also to the arrest of 2 Congressmen in a Chhatisgarh State. That they have been released on protest does not in any way justify the action that was taken. As I have indicated in my last letter Governments are only too prone to take recourse to extraordinary powers. In recent months it has been seen that the High Courts have upset more orders of Governments than perhaps they did in former regimes. It is not in the interest of our Governments that they should be exposed to criticism that High Courts have had to intervene for the protection of people from illegal arrests and detention. In our regime the people should have no ground to go to High Courts against our Governments, and if they did go the orders should be such that the High Courts would not interfere.

Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Birla House, Mussoorie.

72. To Vallabhbhai Patel

Camp: Abu
The 18th May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Many thanks for your letter dated 14th May. It was at the request and invitation of Sjt. Gokal Bhai Bhat that I agreed to attend the Sirohi Praja Mandal on the 20th. Another temptation of mine was that I should get about two days at Abu where I have just arrived from Bombay. You may rest assured that my visit to these parts will be quite satisfactory and will not create any complications. You know I am quite cautious and I am not likely to be led beyond my depths.

Sjt. Totla of the Praja Mandal of Indore came to see me the other day at Delhi and asked me to visit Indore for the Gandhi Memorial Fund. I have given a provisional promise to go there subject to the decisions that may be taken at Mussoorie on the 24th and 25th. I shall talk about this matter when there. I am arriving, as I have written to you, on the forenoon of the 23rd, leaving Delhi early in the morning on that day. I am arranging with my friend Sjt. S.P. I felt that there would be many guests at Birla House and I fixed it up in consultation with Sjt. Rameshwar Dassji.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Birla House, Mussoorie.

73. To Niharendu Dutt Mazumdar

Camp: Abu
The 18th May 1948

My dear Shri Niharendu Dutt,

I have received your letter dated 12th May together with a copy of the Press [report] that the question of amalgamating portions of Bihar with Bengal has already created a certain amount of misunderstanding and even bitterness. So far as I can judge the difficulty arose not on principle but on a question of fact as to what tracts speak what language. In this matter I have a somewhat delicate position. The best thing is to talk it over with the people who can speak with authority on behalf of Bihar alone and not to bring me in as I have to maintain a more or less neutral position as President of the Congress in this controversy. I have not said or written one word about this controversy, and yet I have seen statements made in the public and have received many private communications accusing me of partiality because I happen to come from Bihar. I would therefore request you to take up the matter with the people of Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

74. *To Ravi Shankar Shukla*

Camp: Abu
The 18th May 1948

[My dear Shuklaji,]

I received your letter dated 27th April together with enclosures. I had some correspondence with you before about the Janapada Act of your Province. From the enclosures I do not find anything directly connecting Sjt. Biyani and it is difficult for me to take action unless there is something definite. The report of the Deputy Commissioner and the letter of the Commissioner to him in reply do not mention his name. The report also mentions certain apprehensions which the Deputy Commissioner entertains and does not mention any action which they have taken. I therefore request you to let me have a report about any definite action taken by Sjt. Biyani on the basis of which I can proceed to enable me to consider what action can or should be taken.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla
Prime Minister, C.P. & Berar
Nagpur.

75. *To Venkatramani*

Camp: Abu
The 18th May 1948

My dear Venkatramani,

I received your letter dated 24th. I have written to the Premier but I do not know if anything will come out of it. I know there must be many candidates and an additional restriction has been laid down by the Constituent Assembly Party itself which I have forwarded to the Provincial Assembly Party. That is that the members of the defunct Legislative Assembly who are not members of the Constituent Assembly at present should be given first preference.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

76. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Birla House
Mussoorie
18th May 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th May 1948. I hope it will be possible for you to come on the 22nd so that we can have at least two days in which to talk about things in general at some leisure. Please do try. If you cannot manage 22nd, then 23rd is indispensable.

I myself am very anxious about Delhi. I said long ago that our failure to do something substantial for the housing of refugees and the return of Muslims to Delhi, before the non-Muslim refugees are rehabilitated, is a great source of danger to the peace and security of Delhi. But for reasons with which you are already familiar we have made such a slow progress in the matter of rehabilitation of these refugees. On the other hand, the influx of Muslims from Pakistan is continuing at a fairly substantial scale and the feelings of sullenness, discontent and even hostility, both towards Muslims and Government, are therefore understandable; but, as far as I can see, the local administration is fully alive to the danger involved. I wanted to make a change in the local administration but, unfortunately, I am up against difficulties which I will explain to you when you come. As regards the Inspector-General of Police, the present incumbent is too junior for the post. He was D.I.G. until about a month and a half ago. He was made I.G. temporarily only because the Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Mr. Sanjevi, found the combination of his job with that of Inspector-General of Police too much for him and the selected officer from the Punjab was not going to be available soon. On the ground of having officiated for this short period, therefore, Mehra could have no claim for I.G.P.-ship. However, in deference to Jawaharlal's wishes, I agreed to his retention as I.G.P. for a month or so, provided it caused no embarrassment to the East Punjab Government whom we had virtually plied with a series of telegrams for early relief of Chaudhury, the selected officer. I understand that Chaudhury had already been relieved before our request for postponement reached the East Punjab Government and the latter were not prepared to revise their order.

I have seen Chaudhury's record. It is much better than that of Mehra. He has been commended for ability, integrity, grit and determination. In three districts, to which he was posted, the police administration was in a mess and he restored order out of chaos. Two of these districts were particularly heavy and strategic, viz. Mianwali and Ferozepore. I feel that it would be most unfair to condemn an officer with such reputation in advance of his joining duty.

As regards the R.S.S., both myself and the local administration have already initiated action to deal with them. The Socialists are, of course, adept at fishing in

troubled waters. I sensed the danger from them long ago, but as an organisation we seem to have become alive to it only a few months back.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

77. *From Govind Ballabh Pant*

Camp: Naini Tal
May 19, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I write to acknowledge with thanks receipt of your circular D.O. No. 2/20 dated May 4, 1948, regarding collections for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

2. We have in this Province already taken necessary action for the setting up of an internal machinery to look after collections of voluntary contributions from Government servants. This has been done with the concurrence of the Provincial Committee for the Fund. I enclose copies of an appeal issued by me (D.O. No. 2285/III-311(2)/48, dated April 7, 1948) and supplementary directions issued by the Chief Secretary (D.O. No. 2285(2)/III-34-2-48 dated April 8, 1948). The matter was also fully discussed at a recent Conference of Administrative Officers and it was decided to make departmental officers responsible for collections from their subordinates. The unit for collections is, in any case, the district and it is felt that this will give greater satisfaction to the people in general, as a substantial portion of the amount collected will be utilised in the district itself. For this reason it is not considered necessary to prepare separate reports of amounts collected from employees of different departments in the various districts. Reports of collections will, of course, be prepared districtwise.

3. We do not anticipate any difficulty in collecting voluntary donations from Government servants. When for the sake of facility anyone of them prefers to make payments by deductions from his salary, this has also been allowed as a special case. A copy of these orders is also enclosed for your information (G.O. No. A-3241/X dated April 24, 1948, and No. A-3370/X-628-1948 dated May 1, 1948).

4. We have also, in consultation with the Secretary, Provincial Fund Committee, allowed contributions to be made until January 1949. This has been done to provide all reasonable facilities to Government servants as the Fund will remain open until the first death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. A copy of instructions issued regarding this is also enclosed (D.O. No. 2947/III-311(2)/1948 dated May 6, 1948). Departmental orders implementing this

decision are being issued in continuation of G.O. No. A-3241/X dated April 24, 1948, referred to in paragraph 3 above.

5. Departments of Government of India who are making collections from their employees continue to do so as in our circular D.O. No. 2822/111-311(2)-1948 dated April 26, 1948 (copy enclosed).

Yours sincerely,
G.B. Pant
Premier, United Provinces

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

Enclosure 1:

D.O. No. 2285/111-311(2)/48

Lucknow
April 7, 1948

Subject: *Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund*

Dear

I write this letter to you about collections for the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund.

2. You are undoubtedly aware that a Provincial Branch of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund has already been established at Lucknow. It has a regular office at the Walaqadar Road, Lucknow. Her Excellency the Governor is the President of the Provincial Branch and I am one of the Vice-Presidents.

3. It is impossible for us to discharge the debt we all owe to Mahatmaji for his services to the nation. But as a token of our affection and devotion for him it is incumbent on us to make our due contribution to the Gandhi Memorial Fund which has been started with the object of furthering the ideals which Mahatmaji had set before us. The President of the Congress and the Working Committee have suggested that every individual should contribute at least his ten days' income to this Fund. On that basis it has been calculated that about Rs.100 crores would be collected in the whole of India. The quota of our own Province on that basis would come to a minimum of about Rs.10 crores. You may make your own estimates for the towns in your district and the total for the whole district in consultation with your district committee. In meeting this estimate the factors of population and the contributing capacity of the people will no doubt be taken into account. You will agree that success in collecting the estimated figure can be assured only if approach is made to each individual. Persons engaged in trade, commerce, professions and services as also the kisans have all to be approached. Perhaps the work may be facilitated by enlisting the aid of recognised institutions, social and other, such as unions, associations and clubs.

There is no compulsion but when everyone is expected to contribute at least 10 days' income, much more is expected from those who can afford to do so. Wherever necessary, payment can be made by instalments.

4. It is proposed to form a committee for each district forthwith. It is to be constituted initially as follows. The District Magistrate of each district will kindly convene the first meeting. If he or the President, District Congress Committee or City Congress Committee, or preferably both, after consultation between them, feel that some other persons should also be invited to the very first meeting, it is open to them to do so. The district committees are empowered to co-opt others, to elect their office-bearers and also to form executive and local committees. Similarly, it will be desirable to form separate committees for each urban area in the district.

5. You should call in a meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of the District and City or Town Congress Committees, all the members of the Legislature in the district as well as the President of the Development Association, or Chamber of Commerce, if one exists in your district. You may also nominate two or three persons who may be specially helpful. This committee may co-opt other important workers and persons.

6. The Provincial Committee are sending printed receipt books to District Officers. These are *provisional* receipt books. It will be essential to record the names and the full addresses of the donors so that when the regular receipts are received from the Central Office, there may be no difficulty in distributing them to the donors. It is important to remember that proper account of the receipt books themselves should be maintained. They should be entrusted only to fully responsible individuals. No person whose integrity is not absolutely above suspicion should be put on in this work. The signatures of persons receiving the receipt books should be obtained on a register in which the number of receipt books issued and other particulars should be recorded. It will be the duty of every person making collections to return the counterfoils of the receipt books along with the sums collected. Persons entrusted with collection work should deposit every week the amounts collected. But for those making collections in distant places, a period of a fortnight may be allowed. The collections made and deposited by them should be checked with the aid of the counterfoils of the receipt books when deposits are made. The amounts, as they are collected, and the counterfoils of the receipt books thereof should be despatched to the Provincial Office as soon as the amounts are received at the headquarters. Pending despatch of the amounts collected to the Provincial Office, the moneys should not be kept with you. They should be deposited in a bank and periodically transferred to the Provincial Office by means of cheques. It is essential that all necessary care is exercised in this matter of collecting, handling and transfer of moneys.

7. I should explain that the amounts collected for the fund will be utilised on those projects of national services and well-being which were specially dear to Mahatmaji. But it would be open to a subscriber to earmark the whole or a

portion of his contribution for a specified item of expenditure in which he may be specially interested. The option to earmark the contribution will, however, be subject to the limitation that the Provincial Committee do not think that the Fund should be expended on memorial pillars or costly buildings. This could be explained to the donors in appropriate terms, if necessary.

The Central Committee and the Congress President have stated that endeavours would be made to utilise 75 per cent of the amount collected in a district in that very district. This should be explained to the public.

8. It is hoped that you would not need to incur any expenditure for the purpose of making collections. If any such amount is required, then it may perhaps be possible to collect it separately. But if you have any difficulty, please send details to the Provincial Committee which will then consider the matter and write to you. But the work should start at once and if any expenditure has to be incurred initially, you may sanction it and inform the Provincial Committee.

9. The donations should be free and voluntary. The methods adopted for the collection of War Funds should be eschewed. Police *dangals* and similar shows under official auspices need not be encouraged. Inferior and subordinate staff should not be employed for collecting subscriptions. Amongst officials no agency which might even have any semblance of compulsion should be employed, e.g. policemen and patwaris should not be burdened with this work. It is hoped that trustworthy and energetic non-official workers will be forthcoming in sufficient numbers so that every inhabitant in every part of the district may receive the message and get the opportunity of making his sacrificial offering to this sacred fund.

10. It is hardly necessary to emphasise that the time and attention devoted to this work will have been spent on a cause of inestimable value to the nation.

Yours sincerely,
G.B. Pant
Premier, United Provinces

Enclosure 2:

D.O. No. 2285(2)/111-311(2) 48

Civil Secretariat, U.P.
General Administration Department
Lucknow
April 8, 1948

Subject: *Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund*

My dear Sir,

I am desired to address you about collections for the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund. You will receive with this the personal letter, dated April 7, 1948, of the Hon'ble Premier which deals with the matter fully. This letter is

intended to give supplementary directions in respect of officials.

2. It is essential that officials should fully cooperate with non-officials in this work. You must have already received copies of the circulars issued by Shri Vichitra Narain Sharma, dated April 2 and 3. The latest instructions for the formation of the committees and the manner of collections are, however, embodied in the Hon'ble Premier's letter.

3. The matter was discussed at the recent Administrative Officers' Conference when it was felt that it will be necessary to appoint a Secretary to the District Committee and auditors. It might be necessary also to have one clerk in every tahsil. It is hoped that in the beginning honorary workers will be available in each district for this purpose and that there will be no delay in starting the work. If, however, any paid staff is required, District Officers should send up their proposals to the Secretary to the Provincial Committee—Shri Vichitra Narain Sharma. Meanwhile, I am desirous to convey sanction to the incurring of expenditure for collection work not exceeding Rs. 1,000 in each district. This expenditure should be debited to a new detailed sub-head, "Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund collection charges" to be opened under "57—Miscellaneous charges—J—Miscellaneous and unforeseen charges—(i) Other charges", in the current financial year's budget.

4. It would be desirable if departmental officers undertake the responsibility for making collections from their subordinates. For this purpose, the principal Heads of Offices in each district may be associated with the District Officer and similarly the regional officers of the different departments may be associated with the Commissioners in divisional committees. The divisional committees under the Commissioners should guide and supervise the work in so far as the subordinates of the different departments in the division are concerned.

5. It should be impressed in meetings held by departmental officers that the collections are voluntary and that Government are prepared to give full facilities to government servants to enable them to make their full contributions. In this connexion it is suggested that some officials may like to make payments in instalments. In any case, however, the full amount which each official wishes to contribute should be notified by him in the first instance. Then the manner of payment should be indicated by him in writing. He may either pay the amount himself in instalments or he may desire that the amount may be deducted in a lump sum or in instalments from his salary. In either case, the instalments should not ordinarily be less than three and should not, in any case, exceed five and the total payment should be completed within a period of six months. Government will also be prepared to relax the rules to enable a government servant to take an advance from his provident fund.

6. At the Administrative Officers' Conference it was also agreed that the unit of collections will be the district and that all collections of even different departmental officials will be credited to the district account. Heads of departments who are interested in the work may issue suitable appeals and give necessary facilities to their subordinates. They will also keep in touch with

contributions paid by their subordinate departmental officers. But there will be no separate departmental collections.

Yours sincerely,
B.N. Jha

To all District Officers in the United Provinces.

No. 2285(3)/III-311(2)-48

Copy, with a copy of Hon'ble Premier's letter, forwarded to all Heads of Departments, Commissioners of Divisions and Principal Heads of Offices in the United Provinces, for information and necessary action.

No. 2285(4)/III-311(2)-48

Copy also forwarded to all departments of the Secretariat. Arrangements for collections in the Secretariat from the ministerial and inferior staff will be coordinated by the Deputy Secretary in the Secretariat Administration Department (Establishment), who will act in consultation with the Chief Secretary.

By order,
B.N. Jha
Chief Secretary to Government
United Provinces

Finance Department—No. 2285(5)/III-311(2)-48

Copy also forwarded to the Accountant General, United Provinces, for information.

By order,
P.A. Gopalakrishnan
Secretary to Government
United Provinces

Enclosure 3:

(From P.A. Gopalakrishnan, I.C.S., Secretary to Government, United Provinces, to all Heads of Departments, Commissioners of Divisions, District Officers and Principal Heads of Offices, United Provinces)

Lucknow,
April 24, 1948

Subject: *Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund*

Sir,

I am directed to refer to endorsement No. 2285(3)/III-311(2)-1948, dated April 8, 1948, with which were forwarded to you a copy of the Hon'ble Premier's personal letter, dated April 7, 1948, and a copy of the Chief Secretary's demi-

official letter, dated April 8, 1948, on the above subject. I am to communicate in this letter the accounting procedure that should be followed in the case of collections for the above fund made from government servants. As stated in paragraph 5 of the letter of April 8, 1948, the collections will be voluntary and Government servants will be given full facilities to enable them to make their full contributions, i.e. at least 10 days' pay. The Government have accordingly decided that government servants may make their contributions

- (a) in cash, either in one lump sum or in instalments, not exceeding 5;
- (b) by deduction from salary, either in one lump sum or in instalments as above;
- (c) in cash in one lump sum from an advance taken by a government servant from his Provident Fund Account.

2. All contributions received in cash from Government servants should be credited in the treasury or sub-treasury in the district. The Government have permitted all treasuries and sub-treasuries in the Province to receive moneys in connexion with the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund. The District Officers will supply to the Treasury Officers and the Sub-Treasury Officers authorised to collect the contribution from government servants in cash, provisional receipt books mentioned in paragraph 6 of the Hon'ble Premier's circular letter referred to above to enable them to issue these receipts to subscribers. With the help of the counterfoils to these receipts, all District Officers will make a personal monthly verification of the amounts of contributions received in the treasuries or sub-treasuries in their districts and after this verification the amounts will be remitted by them monthly to the Secretary of the Provincial Branch of the Gandhi Memorial Fund, Walaqadar Road, Lucknow, by Remittance Transfer Receipts at par. The Accountant General, will issue necessary instructions in this respect to all Treasury Officers.

3. In cases in which contributions will be deducted from salaries, gazetted officers who draw their salaries direct from the treasury will enclose with their pay bills an application in Form 'A' authorizing the treasury officer to make the necessary deduction for credit to Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund. The schedule indicating deduction will also be attached to the pay bills. Similar procedure will be followed in the case of gazetted officers receiving payment by means of cheques at the pre-audit counter of the Accountant General's office, Allahabad. Their bills should similarly be supported by an application in Form 'A' which should be addressed to the Accountant General, United Provinces, Allahabad, along with the schedules of deduction.

4. In the case of non-gazetted government servants whose salary is drawn by the head of the office, the subscribers should give a written intimation in the Form 'B' to the head of the office who will take necessary action to show these deductions in a separate column like other deductions in the establishment pay bills. These deductions will be shown in a separate column in the pay bills. The treasury officers will pay the amount of these deductions by "transfer credit" to

the newly opened head of account "Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund" (like rent of buildings, income-tax, etc.) and the balance only in cash.

5. The contributions deducted from the salaries of gazetted and non-gazetted government servants in the manner described in paragraphs 3 and 4 above will all be credited to the minor head "Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund" and will be remitted to the Secretary of the Fund every month as explained in paragraph 2 above.

6. I am to add that all treasury officers are also being authorised to deduct contributions from the pensions of retired government servants who make a written request to them for deduction from their pension of the amount of contribution which they wish to make to the Fund. The accounting procedure in respect of these deductions will be the same as indicated above in respect of the pay of government servants.

7. Those government servants who wish to take an advance from their provident fund accounts to make their contributions to the Memorial Fund should apply to the authority competent to sanction the advance. The specific purpose for which the advance is required should be clearly mentioned in the application. The competent authority should promptly sanction the advance. The advance will be recovered in the usual manner as provided in the relevant Provident Fund Rules such as the I.C.S. Provident Fund Rules, the General Provident Fund (United Provinces) Rules, or the United Provinces Contributory Provident Fund Rules, etc., but if any government servant does not wish to repay the advance, he need not do so. The Governor has been pleased to relax to this extent the provisions of rule 16 of the General Provident Fund Rules and of rule 14 of the Contributory Provident Fund Rules (United Provinces). The sanction of the Governor-General to the relaxation of rule 7 of the I.C.S. Provident Fund Rules is being obtained.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
P.A. Gopalakrishnan
Secretary

No. A-3241(1)/X

Copy forwarded to all departments of the Secretariat for information.

No. A-3241(2)/X

Copy also forwarded to the Accountant General, United Provinces, for information and necessary action.

By order,
D.K. Joshi
Under Secretary to Government
United Provinces

FORM 'A'

To
The Treasury Officer,
.....

Sir,

I wish to contribute Rs. to the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund and authorise you to deduct the amount from my monthly salary bill/bills in one lump sum/instalments of Rs. . . . and Rs.

Signature

Designation

Dated

FORM 'B'

To
.....

Sir,

I wish to contribute Rs. to the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund and authorise you to deduct from my pay the above amount in one lump sum/instalments of Rs. and Rs. every month.

Signature

Designation

Dated

Enclosure 4:

D.O. No. 2822/III-311(2)-1948

Civil Secretariat, U.P.
General Administration Department
Lucknow
April 26, 1948

Subject: *Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund*

My dear Sir,

This is in continuation of Chief Secretary's D.O. No. 2285(2)/III-311(2)-1948, dated April 8, 1948.

2. I am desired to say that as Army authorities are making their own arrangements for collecting contributions to the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial

Fund military personnel need not be included in the appeal made by you in this behalf.

3. I am to add that instructions will follow shortly as regards collections from employees of other departments of the Government of India and these should be awaited before approaching them for donations. Meanwhile, however, if anyone of them of his own accord donates any amount it should be accepted and duly credited to accounts.

Yours sincerely,
B.P. Joshi

To all District Officers in the United Provinces.

No. 2822(1)/III-311(2)-1948

Copy forwarded to all Heads of Departments, Commissioners of Divisions and Principal Heads of Offices in the United Provinces, for information.

No. 2822(2)/III-311(2)-1948

Copy also forwarded to all Departments of the Secretariat, for information.

No. 2822(3)/III-311(2)-1948

Copy also forwarded to the Accountant General, United Provinces, for information.

By order,
B.P. Joshi
Deputy Secretary to Government
United Provinces

Enclosure 5:

(From P.A. Gopalakrishnan, I.C.S., Secretary to Government, United Provinces, to all Heads of Departments, Commissioners of Divisions, District Officers and Principal Heads of Offices, United Provinces)

No. A-3370/X-628-1948

Lucknow
May 1, 1948

Subject: *Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund*

Sir,

In continuation of G.O. No. A-3241/X, dated April 24, 1948, on the above subject, I am directed to say that the Governor has decided that contributions to the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund received in cash from members of the

public, private institutions and associations, etc., should also be credited in all treasuries and sub-treasuries in the districts. The Government have accordingly permitted all treasuries and sub-treasuries in the Province including banking treasuries, as an exception to paragraph 31-A of the Financial Handbook, Volume V, Part I, to receive money in connexion with the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund from whatever source it may come. The District Officers will also supply to the treasury officers and the sub-treasury officers provisional receipt books mentioned in paragraph 6 of the Hon'ble Premier's circular letter of April 7, 1948, to enable them to issue receipts to subscribers. With the help of the counterfoils of these receipts, all District Officers will make a personal monthly verification of the amounts of contributions received in the treasuries or sub-treasuries in their districts and after this verification intimate the total amount received in a month to the Secretary of the Provincial Branch of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund, Walaqadar Road, Lucknow.

2. With a view to avoid the inconvenience to which the subscribers would be put in preparing and presenting chalans in the usual manner, it has been decided that the necessary chalans for the total collections at the end of each day will be prepared and signed by the treasury and sub-treasury officers. In the case of banking treasuries, the collections along with the chalans so prepared will be sent to the banks for credit to the Fund. The Accountant General, United Provinces, will issue necessary detailed instructions to all treasury officers.

3. I am to refer to paragraphs 4 and 5 of Government Order of April 24, 1948, referred to above, and to say that all contributions, whether from Government servants or members of the public, private institutions and associations, etc., received at treasuries and sub-treasuries should be credited to the minor head "Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund" under the major head "P—Deposits and Advances—Deposits not bearing interest—(C) Other deposit accounts—Civil deposits". Further disposal of the contributions collected will be made in accordance with the instructions from the Secretary of the Provincial Branch of the Fund. I am to make it clear, however, that the contributions from Government servants and private sources should not in any way be mixed up. The credit from the two sources should be shown in the accounts separately under the detailed heads "Contributions from Government servants" and "Contributions from the Public" under the minor head mentioned above.

4. I am to request that extensive publicity to the above decisions may kindly be given.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

P.A. Gopalakrishnan

Secretary

No. A-3370(1)/X-628-1948

Copy forwarded to all Departments of the Secretariat for information.

No. A-3370(2)/X-628-1948

Copy forwarded to the Information Department of the Secretariat for publicity.

No. A-3370(3)/X-628-1948

Copy forwarded to the Chairmen of all Municipal and District Boards, Notified and Town Areas, Chairmen of Improvement Trusts, United Provinces, for information.

No. A-3370(4)/X-628-1948

Copy forwarded to the Accountant General, United Provinces, for information and necessary action.

No. A-3370(5)/X-628-1948

Copy also forwarded to the Secretary, Provincial Branch of the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund, Walaqadar Road, Lucknow, for information and for supply of printed provisional receipt books to all District Officers.

By order,
D.K. Joshi
Under Secretary to Government
United Provinces

Enclosure 6:

D.O. No. 2947/III-311(2)-1948

Civil Secretariat, U.P.
General Administration Department
Lucknow
May 6, 1948

Subject: *Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund*

My dear Sir,

This is in continuation of instructions contained in paragraph 5 of my circular D.O. No.2285(2)/III-311(2)-1948, dated April 8, 1948.

2. A large number of requests have since been received for allowing an increase in the number of instalments in which contributions to the Fund may be made.

3. Government desire to provide every reasonable facility to contributors and

it has accordingly been decided that contributions to the Fund may be made in monthly instalments up to the end of January 1949.

Yours sincerely,
B.N. Jha
Chief Secretary

To all District Officers in the United Provinces.

No. 2947(1)/III-311(2)-1948

Copy forwarded to all Heads of Departments, Commissioners of Divisions and Principal Heads of Offices in the United Provinces for information and necessary action.

No. 2947(2)/III-311(2)-1948

Copy also forwarded to all Departments of the Secretariat.

No. 2947(3)/III-311(2)-1948

Copy also forwarded to the Accountant General, United Provinces, for information.

By order,
B.N. Jha
Chief Secretary to Government
United Provinces

78. *From Bhimsen Sachar*

11 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
21st May 1948

My dear Babuji,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 15th instant.

Before I deal with the specific points which constitute the basis of complaints against me I should like to state straightaway that I am a loyal and true member of the Indian National Congress only and have not become a member of any other political party "which has a separate membership, constitution and programme". I have not up to the present moment entertained any idea of setting up a separate organisation distinct from the Congress. Whether the objection taken to my activities by my friends is valid or not depends upon the answers to the following questions:

1. Does the Congress constitution debar an individual Congressman or a group of Congressmen to come together non-officially for the purpose of studying

- political problems arising out of the acts of omission or commission of a Provincial Congress Government or a Provincial Congress Committee?
2. Does the Congress constitution debar an individual Congressman or a group of Congressmen to ascertain grievances of the public with a view to bringing them to the notice of proper authorities?
 3. If a Congress M.L.A. is expected to tour his constituency, does the Congress constitution after that debar an individual Congressman or a group of Congressmen to tour a district and, if necessary, the whole of the Province, in order to be sure of the data on the basis of which some electors want their representatives to take up their complaints with the Government?
 4. Does the Congress constitution debar a Congress M.L.A. or a group of Congress M.L.A.s to engage the services of clerks and assistants with a view to secure efficient discharge of his or their duties as M.L.A.s?
 5. Does the Congress constitution debar a Congress M.L.A. or a group of Congress M.L.A.s to canvass support for changing a Leader if in his or their view a change is justified by circumstances?

If my friends can prove to your satisfaction that the above activities contravene any provision of the Congress constitution I should be sorry for having offended, though quite unwittingly, against the provisions of the new constitution. Before the complainants can expect you to take exception to my activities they must satisfy you that I am a member of a non-Congress political party "which has a separate membership, constitution and programme".

The fact which nobody denies is that a large number of Congressmen, including some M.L.A.s, are dissatisfied with the general state of things in the East Punjab relating to law and order and rehabilitation of refugees from the West Punjab. We are quite naturally anxious that this sorry state of things in the East Punjab should end at the earliest. We have been following strictly constitutional methods to draw the attention of our Leader to this tragic state of things. I shall be grateful if Dr. Gopichand or any of his group supporters will be so good as to point out specifically any act on my part which, as a disciplined and loyal Congressman, I should have abstained from doing. They have drawn your attention to my Press statement of the 4th May 1948. They would have been helpful if they had mentioned the grounds of their objection. Do they object to my stating the truth that there are groups in the Congress Assembly Party and that Dr. Gopichand's is the most prominent of them all? Or do they take exception to the expression of my loyalty as a member of the Congress Assembly Party to my Leader? Or is it that they dislike my appeal to Dr. Gopichand for joint working? The statement, as you must doubtless be aware, was made in reply to Dr. Gopichand's statement which appeared in *The Hindustan Times* of the 3rd May 1948. I hope your attention has also been drawn to the two other statements—one issued jointly by the two Secretaries of the Congress Assembly Party, Shree Dev Raj Sethi and S. Dilip Singh Kang, and the other by Seth Sudarshan, the Chief Whip of the Congress Assembly Party, in reply to my

statement under reference. I have, of course, not thought it fit to follow up the controversy initiated by Dr. Gopichand. I need not comment on the value of those statements.

I admit I have not been able to appreciate the stand of my friends. Do they contend that once a Leader of the Party has been elected no member or a group of members has the right to work for a change justified by subsequent circumstances? I am sure you will agree with me that a healthy, dynamic and living organisation like the Congress must stoutly repudiate such a suggestion. For if it were otherwise our duty to contact our electors and voice their grievances would lack reality. It will also tend to too much concentration of irresponsible power in the hands of one elected Leader, if legitimate and constitutional opposition to him could be construed as disloyalty to Congress. This will cut at the root of democracy within the Congress.

I am sorry you should have been put to unnecessary inconvenience by such garbled reports. I hope I have been able to explain myself to your entire satisfaction. I need not assure you of my ready and willing compliance with any direction which you may like to give me on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Bhimsen Sachar

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

79. *From Baldev Singh*

17 Tughlak Road
New Delhi
21st May 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I have been feeling quite worried these last few days over the East Punjab affairs and the position the Sikhs were in at present. The talk I had with you the other day left an impression on my mind that all was not well there again and things might happen that would upset the work some of us had accomplished against heavy odds—in the interests, as we had thought and hoped, of the Province and the country. I am writing this as I will not be here on the 22nd when you will discuss these matters. I would like to explain, if I may, the background of the Punjab problem and the effort we made in recent years to bring the different communities together. I am afraid the issues are again being clouded by party and factional interests.

A brief reference to what happened in the Punjab in recent years and its peculiar communal complexes will perhaps explain my position. It was in 1937 that I was prevailed upon, much against my will, to enter Punjab politics. Public life in the Punjab at the time was reeking with communalism. In that year the

Congress and the Akalis fought the elections on joint ticket against the Unionists. I was not a member of the Akali Party though I backed them in their fight against Muslim communal domination. I backed the Congress in its political struggle. Sir Sikander Hyat was out to consolidate Muslim domination by sheer weight of Muslim majority. His policy was to ruin the Hindus by economic and political legislation and to isolate the Sikhs and demoralise them by administrative measures and—as he planned—by driving them out of the Armed Forces. His design appeared to have been that if he could ruin Hindus economically and pack the Armed Forces with Muslims, the Province, with Muslim majority, would become a Muslim domain. He was clever enough to carry a few Hindu and Sikh stooges with him. His problem was how he could break up the Akalis—the powerful group within the Sikh community. War broke out in 1939. By 1942, its course had become critical. Differences between Muslims and Sikhs did not fit into the British plans. Sir Sikander was then forced by high British authorities to make up with the Sikhs. As a result I joined his Cabinet after arriving at what was known as the Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact.

The Pact was never honoured. In fact Sir Sikander continued to harass Sikhs and Hindus. His plan to undermine Sikh recruitment in Armed Forces (obviously to bolster up the Muslim proportion) now took a disingenuous turn. It was to blackmail Sikh leaders and thereby turn British recruitment policy against Sikh enlistment. To what lengths he stooped to gain his objective is worth stating: In 1941 he accused the Maharaja of Patiala of distributing arms among Sikhs and of organising a revolt against the British; he tried to implicate him, Master Tara Singh, and myself in the notorious Kalka Motor Murder Case where he failed only because the real culprit was apprehended by accident; he manoeuvred false evidence to connect me with the escape of Subhas Bose from India. All or much of this he did while I was one of his colleagues in the Cabinet. Suddenly he died in December 1942. I do not know what would have happened in the Province had he lived, except of course that I could not have long remained in office with him.

This apparent digression was necessary. I want you to understand the plight into which Sikhs had been driven by the designs of an arch-communalist who was bent on establishing Muslim domination in the Province which for the Sikhs was their very all—their Homeland. His aim was that if he could demoralise or subjugate the Sikhs, the Punjab would be safe for Muslim posterity. His sudden death and the rise of Malik Khizr Hyat improved matter somewhat. But soon Mr. Jinnah began to overpower the Punjab Muslim politics. He thought little of Malik Saheb whom he tried to oust by browbeating. As for the Sikhs, he tried, unlike Sir Sikander, to win them over by liberal and even wild promises. They were cajoled by all manner of means by League propagandists who said that Muslims and Sikhs had common cultural and economic interests and neither worshipped the idols! They offered the Sikhs even an autonomous area within Pakistan. The Sikhs turned their face against all this. To Malik's credit it must be said that he too stood against Mr. Jinnah to the last. His fall had one sorry episode which I must relate. He was advised by the Provincial Congress group

then in power to give way to the League in order, as he was told, that Congress might come to terms with the League. This was of course quite contrary to the high Congress policy. [What] the Sikhs felt about this attitude of local Congress circles, I need not state. They felt they had been betrayed by the Punjab Congress at the bitterest trial in their history.

Now, it is the same Provincial Congress group which today plays the role of casting aspersions on the Sikh rapprochement with the Congress. It has taken me some years of labour and no small opposition from a section of my own community to draw the Sikhs towards the Congress. I thought I had done my bit of service for my country when I succeeded in persuading every member of the Panthic Party to join the Congress and sign its pledge. It grieves me to find that my labour is being set at naught and that by those who, to put it mildly, ill served their Province and played the Sikhs false.

Nor should Sikh contribution in the final settlement with the British Government and in their choice in favour of India be belittled. They knew that by agreeing to the principle of partition of the Punjab they stood to lose heavily. They turned down Mr. Jinnah's lavish offers and joined hands with the Congress because they felt that their interests were safer in your hands and they preferred remaining with the people and in the country with which they were attached for centuries. They have, as a community, suffered more grievously than any other. Is it any wonder if today they feel shocked when, in spite of their sacrifices and honest efforts to draw nearer the Congress, they find themselves looked upon with suspicion?

A brief reference to the role played by Sikhs in the Punjab and in the national struggle for freedom will not be out of place here. The aftermath of Rowlatt Bill agitation found political life in the Punjab well nigh dead. It was the Sikhs who reinfused some spirit when they started their struggle for Gurdwaras and then later when they fought against Sir Sikander's regime. In 1937, as I said, they fought the elections side by side with the Congress. In 1946, there were some differences in elections but immediately after, when the coalition was formed, the entire Sikh bloc worked in close collaboration with the Congress in the Province and the Centre. The Congress High Command has, I am afraid, given little attention to the besetting problems of the Province in recent years and a section of Provincial Congressmen, unmindful of the interests of the Province, have pursued narrow party politics to achieve their own ends. The truth is that few have tried to understand the terrible influence of a blatant and militant communalism by which the Province was afflicted. The Sikhs were driven to fight it almost single-handed and there is no hiding the fact that they have not been left uninfluenced by communal considerations. By and large, however, their conduct and policy was and is national, and I have no doubt that in the changed circumstances now coming into play, a sympathetic approach will enable them play a worthy role in free India.

Much is being said of the part played by Sikhs in recent disturbances. I have publicly condemned the evil doers. I have done whatever was possible to stop the

fury of maddened mobs. There is this, however, to be said that those who talk of happenings since August 15, 1947, have clean forgotten what happened in the Punjab since March that year and how Sikhs were mauled and butchered by thousands in Western districts. This anti-Sikh propaganda has been well manoeuvred by the Muslim League, the predominantly Muslim C.I.D., and the pro-Muslim Anglo-Indian and foreign Press. The pity of it is that so many have allowed themselves to be influenced by this propaganda and even given credence to the League lies. And yet that was exactly what the League desired. It was and still is their game to create as deep a rift as possible between the Hindus and the Sikhs not only to keep the communal poison alive but to undermine the security of our border Province. I am sorry to say that this grave aspect of this anti-Sikh propaganda is not being properly appraised and even today things are being said about the Sikhs which are astonishing, to say the least. I will mention just one.

One story goes that a remark was recently made in the Congress Parliamentary Board to the effect that no Hindu woman is today safe anywhere in East Punjab. The charge is grave indeed. That incidents have happened or might happen, I can agree. But who dare say that the criminal is Sikh alone and no one else? The Sikh rural areas are famed throughout India for the honour given to women generally. A whole village is known to have turned out to avenge the honour of a maiden, whoever she might be. The Sikhs are proud of this tradition. To paint the community with tar at one stroke today is indeed a vile state of affairs. Unfortunately such charges are brought up to colour political opinions and a remark of this type was perhaps made to suggest that it would be unwise for the Congress to allow the Sikhs enter its ranks. The suggestion, if true, is too horrible for words. I hope it has been dismissed with the contempt it deserves.

There are other grievances against the Sikhs in the context of the proposed Ministerial changes. It has been said that they have been given the largest share of agricultural land in East Punjab. The answer is simple. Unlike the Hindu refugees from West Punjab, the Sikhs who have come from that side are predominantly agriculturists. The East Punjab Ministry cannot in justice plant traders, bankers and such like people on land. Very naturally the Sikhs must get a lion's share of land, for the simple reason that they are very predominantly agriculturists. Then, there are complaints of the predominance of Sikhs in certain services also. It is not known but the fact is that in services such as the police, agriculture, veterinary, and so on, the personnel was either Muslim or Sikh. By the elimination of the former, the proportion of the latter is bound to rise. The East Punjab Government was bound to absorb all Government servants who came from the West Punjab and if in this process the Sikhs are more in numbers it is none of anyone's seeking. The point to investigate is whether Sikhs have been given proportionately more jobs than others since August 15, 1947. I am assured this is not so. Those who bring up these complaints should know the facts. The truth seems to be either that they are anti-Sikh or are communalists who parade about in the garb of nationalism! Anyway it is no use blaming the Ministry or

accusing the Sikhs; the facts should first be ascertained.

I have not hidden my view that in new India, the Sikh case should be handled with broad sympathy. I believe that this can be done without injury to the interests of the sister communities. We have suffered for no fault of ours. I plead for this sympathetic consideration not merely to assuage the injury—moral, material and spiritual—by which we have been afflicted but in the larger interests of the country and for the better security of our border Province. I do not mind stating here that while holding this view very strongly, I nevertheless told the Panthic Party that they should expect nothing and should join the Congress unconditionally. I am glad that my advice was accepted. That I did not succeed with all, is unfortunate. Master Tara Singh's attitude is clear. My hope however is that if those who have joined the Congress are accorded the treatment they deserve, the opposition will come round to our point of view.

But is there any substance in the grievances of this anti-Akali group in the Congress? The fact is that it is not so much that this or that Sikh should be kept out of the Ministry. The group is after its own self-interest. This is clear because, to my knowledge, the particular Sikh whom they do not want in the Ministry was invited by them to join hands against Dr. Gopichand Bhargava. He was even offered the Leadership of the Party. I need not say more.

I write all this because of my deep interest in the well-being of the Province and my concern for the strategic importance of this area. It has taken me some time to persuade my Sikh friends to come nearer the Congress. I am naturally anxious that they are not sent away disappointed. All I want is that the differences between the Sikhs and the Congress should end once for all. If there are doubts as to the bona fides of these men of the Panthic Party who have joined the Congress, I am prepared to give you whatever assurances you want to their loyalty. This is rather an odd suggestion. I make it in earnest of my endeavour to serve the cause of the country and to establish better understanding between the communities.

I hope you will overlook the length of this letter. I am sending a copy to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
New Delhi.

80. *From Bhimsen Sachar*

11 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi
22nd May 1948

My dear Babuji,

May I draw your attention to the two cuttings, one from *The Tribune* dated

May 18, and the other from the *Milap* dated May 21st? The latter is responsible for the news that S. Swaran Singh and two members of Dr. Gopichand's group, namely Seth Sudarshan and Ch. Krishen Gopal Datt, have been invited to join you, Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel and Sardar Baldev Singh in a meeting at Mussoorie on the 23rd instant for the purpose of taking final decision on the vexed question of reconstitution of the E.P. Cabinet.

News item from *The Tribune* is responsible for the information that "the Sikh members of the Assembly would inform the Premier of their decision on the subject prior to his departure for Mussoorie. In case they are unable to come to a unanimous decision they are likely to convey the decisions of their groups and the Premier will go ahead with his plan."

To confine consultations at the final stage to Dr. Gopichand's group and the Panthic groups would appear to be discriminating against us who, I am afraid, would be misrepresented to the "High Command" in our absence. May I request to be afforded an opportunity of being heard by the "High Command" if the reported final decision is to take place at Mussoorie?

Yours sincerely,
Bhimsen Sachar

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

81. *To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 22nd May 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I have received the accompanying representation from some refugees who met in deputation and gave it to me. I shall like to have information about the way in which refugees once settled in houses or on lands are being dealt with now. The complaint is that people are being uprooted once again and there is no underlying principle for uprooting them. Advantage is taken of the absence of this underlying principle by unscrupulous men who uproot one man just to put in another man who can please them. I am told that there is great discontent amongst refugees on this account and the Ministry as well as the Congress are becoming very unpopular.

I am also told that so far as Congress workers are concerned there is actual discrimination in the administration of relief against them. Out of some 90 houseless Congress workers, only 12 have been provided with houses and the rest are still without any shelter. This discrimination is done very largely because

Congress workers do not like to put forward false claims or to reduce themselves to the level of some of the refugees who by some method or other are able to get the ear of the persons in authority and succeed in getting what they want. It is not possible for me from here to go into the details of the rehabilitation work that is being done there nor is it desirable that it should be done. It is really the job of the administration and it is only when people find that they do not get relief that they come to me. It may be that in some cases the claims may be unjustified but we have to see to it that the administration of Relief and Rehabilitation Department is such as to gain the confidence of the refugees generally. That can be done only if definite principles are laid down and officers in charge carry them out in actual administration. I suppose you have the principles laid down. If that is so I would like to have copies of the plan and the principles on which the plan is based for my reference as complaints are constantly coming to me. As regards the honest administration of the policy it all depends on the officers and the supervision and control which the administration can exercise. I shall, therefore, be obliged for an early report on these matters. I hope you would look into the matter and take such steps as are required to give satisfaction to the refugees in so far as it is possible to do so in the case, at any rate, of the reasonable points raised by them.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister, East Punjab
Simla.

Enclosure not included.

82. *From Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

4 King Edward Road
New Delhi
22nd May 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I find announcements are appearing in the Press dealing with the appointment of a Commission to consider the redistribution of provincial boundaries on a linguistic basis. Sri Shankarrao Deo has recently stated that such a Commission is about to be appointed. I find the Madras and Bombay Premiers have indicated that they have been requested by you to forward names of suitable persons who may be associated with the enquiry.

Dr. B.C. Roy telephoned to me yesterday stating that he had not yet received any such request from you. I do not know whether it is your intention to appoint

a Commission as President of the Constituent Assembly or you would prefer the Commission to be appointed by Government in consultation with you. We should not encourage any aggressive public agitation on this delicate subject in any part of India. The best way to avoid this will be to appoint a responsible and representative Commission which will go into the matter fully and consider the claims of various interests. I have no doubt that whatever Commission may be appointed, you will include the claim of West Bengal for having within its zone the Bengali-speaking areas of Bihar. I am greatly worried about the way in which feelings are being roused on the subject and I would certainly welcome the reference of the matter to some impartial tribunal. I had a talk with Krishna Ballav Babu when he was in Delhi sometime ago and both of us agreed that the whole question should be dealt with at a representative conference. If a Commission is appointed, of course this may not be necessary. Or we may have both, for the purpose of clearing up all possibilities of mutual distrust and misunderstanding.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry and Supply

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

83. *To Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
22nd May 1948

My dear Dr. Syama Prasad,

I have received your letter of date. I think there is some misapprehension about the scope of the Commission which I am appointing. You will find that the Drafting Committee has recommended that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters as regards the new Provinces to be created so that they might be mentioned in the schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted. It is in pursuance of this recommendation that I am appointing a Commission to enquire into all relevant matters regarding the creation of new Provinces. As you know, there has been a persistent demand for the creation of 4 new Provinces—Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. If these Provinces are created, there will be left the residuary Provinces of Tamil Nadu and Gujarat and perhaps also of Mahakoshal which will automatically come into existence. The question, therefore, is confined to creation of new Provinces and not adjustment of boundaries of the existing Provinces. As the creation of new Provinces comes within the purview of the work of the Constituent Assembly, I am making this appointment. The question

of revision of boundaries of the existing Provinces does not fall within our scope and I therefore have not touched that point at all. It is a matter for the Government of India. I am appointing this Commission about the new Provinces after consultation with the Prime Minister. The question of revision of boundaries between Bengal and Bihar is not within the terms of reference to this Commission and therefore Dr. Roy has not been addressed.

I am sorry there is already a lot of bitterness and bad blood created and unless steps are taken to check the form and pace of this agitation for the revision of boundaries, I am afraid serious complications might arise which in the interest of the country as a whole should be prevented at any rate at the present juncture. My position is somewhat delicate. As the Congress President I am expected to take an absolutely neutral position which I have done so far. I have not uttered one word either on the platform or through the Press one way or other in this controversy but I am recipient of letters in which my impartiality and even integrity is challenged. I believe even the Press is not altogether free from this kind of propaganda. The proper authority, therefore, to take up this question of revision of boundaries is the Government of India and perhaps also the Governments of the Provinces concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
5 Barakhamba Road, New Delhi.

84. *To Nanik G. Motwane*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
22nd May 1948

My dear Nanik,

I have received your letter dated 17th instant together with copies of previous two letters all of which I have read. For me retiring from the Congress does not present any difficulty but taking the other step is really like rushing in where angels fear to tread. I do not in the least exaggerate things when I say that I do not find in me the qualities required for the job which you wish me to take; that is a job which cannot be undertaken by anyone by choice or on suggestion. The urge for it must come from within and that can come only when conditions necessary for its fulfilment are ready. Those are not there. I will, therefore, beg you not to think of this any more.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sjt. Nanik G. Motwane
129 Mahatma Gandhi Road
Post Box. No. 459, Bombay.

85. *From Prithvi Singh Azad*

Simla
22 May 1948

Respected Babuji,

In *The Statesman* dated the 17th May 1948, a report of your interview has been published on page 4. It relates to setting up shortly of a Commission to suggest formation of new Provinces on linguistic basis. The last few lines read as follows:

Lately there has been a growing demand for a Punjabi-speaking Province in the North, consisting of the eight Punjab States now formed into the Phulkian Union and the Punjabi-speaking areas of East Punjab.

(2) It is an undeniable fact that after the mass migration of people from West Punjab and their consequent rehabilitation in various districts of East Punjab, there is hardly a village which does not contain a substantial number of Punjabi-speaking inhabitants. Thus the question of amputating a part of the East Punjab does not arise at all.

It is not true that there is a growing demand for a Punjabi-speaking Province.

(3) On the contrary we want the East Punjab States (Phulkian Union) and the newly created Himachal Pradesh to be amalgamated into the East Punjab, so that we can have at least 60,000 sq. miles area for population of at least 1,70,00,000. You are most earnestly requested to lend your full support to this very reasonable demand.

May I bring it to your notice that a statement of the type mentioned above is likely to encourage unduly friends like Master Tara Singh in their fissiparous activities.

So far as the East Punjab is concerned we should take a firm stand.

Yours sincerely,
Prithvi Singh Azad
Minister for Labour and Excise

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

86. *To Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
22nd May 1948

My dear Dr. Ghosh,

I have received your letter dated the 14th May on my arrival here this morning. I wish you all success in your new appointment as Joint High Commissioner of

India in Eastern Pakistan. You have been doing that work more or less as a non-official. Now you have to do it as an official of the Government of India. You have already gained friends and won the confidence of the Government to which you are accredited. They will be of great help in your work. I am ever at your service and will always be ready to do whatever is required of me.

I am afraid after this you will not continue as a member of the Working Committee or of the Parliamentary Board. So please send in your resignation. I know it will be unpleasant for you as it is for me but I think this has to be done.

I am well.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. P.C. Ghosh
14/8 Gariahata Road
Ballygunge, Calcutta.

87. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Mussoorie
23rd May 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th May 1948 regarding the Orissa Praja Mandal and the arrest of two Congressmen of Bihar in a Chhatisgarh State.

When I first received your letter, I myself was surprised because the matter did not pertain to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments in these matters are virtually autonomous. I thought the better course would have been for you to take it up with the respective Premiers. However, since I knew some facts, I thought I would explain them.

As regards the legal position, perhaps I have not succeeded in making myself understood. Under the Extra Provincial Jurisdiction Act, it is competent for the Government of India to delegate powers to a Provincial Administration which could be exercised in an Indian State in respect of which that power may be delegated. Under those powers we have delegated to the Government of Orissa the power to apply any of the Acts in force in Orissa to what were formerly known as Orissa States. It is under this power that it appears that the Maintenance of Public Orders Act of Orissa has been extended to the State in question.

I am doubtful how far we could take acquittals of High Courts as indicative of arbitrariness of Provincial executive actions. Under the law, the High Courts are generally not competent to go into this question. They exercise their power, however, to determine whether an order has been validly made and the acquittals that have been ordered by the High Courts are generally on these technical

points. It would, therefore, be wrong to draw from these acquittals any inference that the arrests have been wrong on merits. You will recall that the action which we have taken in rounding up suspects of various kinds, R.S.S., National Guards, etc., was taken at the instance of the Party and the Legislature. It is difficult for me to see how you can blame the executive alone for taking an action which has subsequently been challenged successfully in a court of law and, if we adopted the criterion that people should have no ground to go to High Courts against our Governments, I am doubtful if at all it would be possible to administer anything.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
President, Indian National Congress.

88. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Calcutta
25th May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I received your letter of 15th instant after my return from Bombay. I particularly studied the second paragraph of your letter. I am afraid there is a little misconception regarding the situation. Sreejuts Hem Chandra Naskar and Mohini Mohan Barman were not induced to change their opinion under threat of dismissal nor did the crisis pass over with their help. As a matter of fact, until the meeting of the 5th instant they were in the opposition. They did not give us any help so far as the crisis was concerned but after it was over they approached us and represented that they had been misled by certain designing persons.

The actual position is that the scheduled caste members of the Assembly number 13, of whom a very large section belongs to North Bengal, that is to say, the Rajbanshi group. The next largest group amongst the scheduled castes are Pondru Kshatriyas, to which Sreejut Hem Chandra Naskar belongs. Sreejut Mohini Mohan Barman belongs to the Rajbanshi group. As a matter of fact, if you analyse the leaning of the scheduled caste members of the Assembly, you will find that they practically belong to one or the other of these groups, and if we are to take any member from the scheduled castes groups, we have to fall back upon one or the other of these subdivisions. Sreejuts Hem Chandra Naskar and Mohini Mohan Barman have learnt a good lesson by going against the Ministry while being in office. They have expressed their regret in writing to us for their

action. It is on that view that I felt that we might get them back within a month after the reformation of the Ministry.

I hope I have explained the position.

Yours sincerely,
B.C. Roy
Premier, West Bengal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

89. *From Hiralal Bose*

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

1 Upper Wood Street
Calcutta
25 May 1948

Dear Dr. Prasad,

It was so very kind of you to give your name as a signatory to letters of invitation which have now gone out. I shall send you the list of persons who accept the invitation in due course.

I send herewith a copy of the minutes of the last meeting of the Executive Committee. It is the earnest hope of the Committee that it will be possible for you to make a broadcast regarding the Pacifist Conference of next year. The proposed draft, which will give all information, is under preparation and I shall be most grateful if you could drop me a line telling me your tentative programme for the next few weeks. I believe the Constituent Assembly session begins about mid-July and wonder when again before then you expect to be in Delhi, so that I can see you there and discuss plans for next year's Conference.

I am now giving my full-time for this work and hope things would proceed with greater speed in future. It has not been possible to obtain the necessary leave, so I have resigned from Longmans Green.

Under separate cover I send you a chronological report of the last All-India Pacifist Conference.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely
Hiralal Bose

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress.

Enclosure:

(Proceedings of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Pacifist Meeting)

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Minutes of a meeting of the above Committee held on Wednesday, the 7th April 1948, at 1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta. Present: Dr. Kalidas Nag (in the chair), Mrs. Gladys Elphick, Sri Bhagirath Kanoria, Moulvi Abdur Rahman and Hiralal Bose.

Apologies for absence were received from Dr. W.M. Hume and Sri Chotelal Jain.

World Pacifist Meeting. We were very glad to know that the Committees in England and America share the same feelings with us, namely, that the plans for the next year's meeting should be proceeded with.

Hiralal Bose reported that he saw Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Sri Pyarelal, Sri Kishorelal Mashruwala and several other close associates of Gandhiji who came at the Constructive Workers' Conference at Sevagram in March. They all welcomed our decision to go forward with the plans for next year's meeting and promised full support and help.

A letter from Horace Alexander was read in which he says "I am happy to tell you that I discussed the whole matter (World Pacifist Meeting) with Jawaharlal Nehru. He approves of our going forward with the plans, and I think he will try to spend a day at Santiniketan during the meeting, if we invite him and if he can fit it in with other engagements." The committee was very happy to hear this.

Invitation Committee. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has kindly agreed to join the Invitation Committee as also Sri Kishorelal Mashruwala, Sri Pyarelal, Sri A.V. Thakkar, Sri G. Ramachandran, Miraben, Sri E.W. Aryanayakam, Srimati Ashadevi, Sri S.K. George, Prof. Nirmal Bose, Syed Nausher Ali, Khan Abdus Samad Khan and Srimati Malati Choudhury.

It was agreed that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sri Satis Das Gupta and Sri J.K. Biswas should be approached to join the Invitation Committee.

Simultaneous prayer. An appeal for such prayer has been issued in the Press and also copies sent to individuals with very satisfactory response from the different parts of the country. It was agreed that all suggestions and comments should be collated and a general statement issued.

Publicity. Articles on the All-India Pacifist Conference have appeared in the *Aryan Path*, *Bharat Jyoti* and *Peace News*. Cyclostyled copies of the chronological report of the Conference have been circulated to members and others. Sri G. Ramachandran has agreed to write a pamphlet on 'The Gandhian Concept and Practice of Truth and Non-violence' and Khan Abdus Samad Khan a pamphlet indicating the Islamic sources which inspire pacifism.

It was reported that casual and often incomplete notice regarding next year's

meeting have been appearing in newspapers and periodicals. It was agreed therefore that a comprehensive statement on the whole plan for the meeting should be prepared, which Dr. Rajendra Prasad should be requested to release to the Press and, if possible, also to make a broadcast about it.

Invitation. Correspondence regarding invitees from Argentine, Belgium, New Zealand and Norway has been forwarded to Horace Alexander and the Friends Committees in England and America for their consideration.

Invitations in bulk have been sent to the Committees in England and America for transmission to the respective addressees, and those for the Far East have been sent out from here.

Organisational work. The work in connection with the organisation of next year's meeting, the greater part of which was being done by Hiralal Bose in his spare time during the past year, has now increased in a very great measure and calls for the employment of a full-time organiser with adequate clerical assistance. The Committee, while asking Sri Bose to become such a full-time worker, adopted the following Resolution which was moved by Sri Bhagirath Kanoria and seconded by Dr. Kalidas Nag:

The Committee places on record its appreciation of the valuable work in connection with the World Pacifist Meeting that Hiralal Bose has been doing in his spare time during the past year or so. It was to a great extent through his efforts that the last All-India Pacifist Conference was successfully held and that the present progress in regard to next year's meeting has been accomplished. The committee now request him to work as full-time organising secretary for next year's Conference and hope very much that he would be able to arrange for his services to be available for this work for the next ten months or so.

The Finance Sub-Committee was authorised to make the necessary arrangements.

Finance. Reported that the budget is under preparation. Meantime, it was felt that Rs.20,000 should be raised to cover the expenses for office, publications and other projects and for incidental expenses in connection with next year's Conference. The Finance Sub-Committee should consider ways and means for the collection of this sum.

90: *From C. Rajagopalachari*

Government House
Darjeeling
28th May 1948

My dear Rajen Bahu,

Please read the enclosed from Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh.

Jawaharlalji, myself and Bidhan all feel alike that it is essential for Bengal that

Dr. Prafulla Ghosh should accept this post of importance at Dacca. Ambassadors and High Commissioners may, it appears to me, be treated on the same footing as Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and Chief Whips. They all carry salaries but they are all political posts. Why should Prafulla Babu have to give up membership in the Working Committee if he is called upon by Jawaharlalji to represent the Government of India at Dacca? He will continue as a citizen of India and therefore ought to continue to hold such positions as he did as a citizen of India. At any rate, you may 'suspend' his membership technically but give him the right to revert, can't you?

If this could be done you would be enabling Bengal to have the advantage of a very good appointment at Dacca.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari
Governor, West Bengal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

91. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

SECRET

No. 791/PM

New Delhi
The 29th May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am greatly worried at news from the U.P. I do not wish to interfere myself but I should like to draw your attention as Congress President to developments there. I read in the newspapers that one thousand Congressmen are charged with indiscipline and have been summoned for enquiry. This sounds very much like an inquisition and an attempt to get rid of people before the elections who might be inconvenient. I do not know who is involved in it and not a single name has been mentioned to me but the general background is alarming. I do not see how the Congress can continue functioning in the U.P. if this procedure is adopted. It will become a small rump and a clique out of touch with vital elements in the Province; all our attention will be taken up in these personal squabbles.

I suggest to you therefore that you might take personal interest in this matter and perhaps discuss it with Pantji. This must be done as early as possible and certainly before the date for the Congress elections.

I am grieved that such a fate should have befallen my Province of which I used to be so proud. I cannot do much myself in it and I hesitate to intervene in any way. Either one does this fully or not at all; there is no middle course. In a matter of this kind it is obviously desirable to have the viewpoint of different persons and groups because a one-sided account is apt to emphasise some factors and not others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

92. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

SECRET & PERSONAL

New Delhi
30 May 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I wrote to you about the U.P. the other day. There is one fact which specially troubles me. Purushottamdas Tandon, the Speaker, is standing for the presidentship of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. I do not mind very much Tandon participating in controversial politics, though I do not fancy this. But it seems to me quite wrong for any Speaker to be the President of the Provincial Congress Committee. If you agree with my viewpoint, I suggest that you might point it out to the U.P. people and more especially to Purushottamdas.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

93. *From Jayaprakash Narayan*

SOCIALIST PARTY

Comrade Chambers
21 Govindji Keni Road
Dadar, Bombay-14
30th May 1948

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to forward to you herewith three resolutions passed by the National Executive of the Socialist Party. These resolutions are of vital importance, and I hope they will receive due consideration.

The resolutions deal with the following questions:

- (1) Dissolution of the present Constituent Assembly (as distinct from the Central Assembly) and convening of a new Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise;
- (2) Indo-British relations and the status of the Indian state;
- (3) Language and the delimitation of Provinces.

Regarding the first, it need hardly be argued that the present Constituent Assembly is become wholly unrepresentative. Elected before the partition of the country and the transfer of power and by Provincial Assemblies which were elected still earlier and on a very restricted franchise, and containing as it does nominees of the Rulers, the present Assembly is not only out-of-date but also unrepresentative of the people. Had this Assembly been functioning for normal legislative business, its present character might not have been found to be so objectionable, though even for that purpose a freshly elected body would be more desirable. But when the organic law of a newly-born nation has to be written, justice requires that the law-making body is as up-to-date and representative as possible. Any other course would mean the betrayal of the principles of democracy and of the rights of the people.

I therefore trust that the suggestion made in our resolution would be accepted both by the Constituent Assembly and the Government of India.

As for the other two resolutions their texts are clear enough and I need not write any further to elucidate them.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
Jayaprakash Narayan
General Secretary

The Hon'ble President
Constituent Assembly of India
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

94. *From Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

6 Suren Tagore Road
Ballygunge, Calcutta
1 June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I received your letter on the 25th. Immediately I wrote to Rajaji to absolve me from the promise of accepting Jt. High Commissionership as it was made on the

explicit understanding that I should not have to resign from the Working Committee. Evidently it seems that Rajaji gave me his word without proper authority. When you write that I shall have to resign, it is final for me. So I immediately wrote to Rajaji and on the 27th I wrote to Jawaharlalji also to that effect. I may not be nominated in the Working Committee by the President, or I may even retire from it. But so long as I am there, I am against accepting a job which means automatic resignation from the Working Committee. It is good that you made this point clear in your letter, otherwise there would have been difficulty in the future, and I would have been put in a very awkward position.

And there is another hurdle too. I understand that the Pakistan Government has objected to the appointment of a Jt. High Commissioner as it would make their position difficult vis-a-vis other states. They did not like the idea of having a Jt. High Commissioner at Dacca as that might have by implication smacked of autonomy of Eastern Pakistan. I do not like the idea of accepting the Deputy High Commissionership even if I am allowed to continue as a member of the Working Committee. So this chapter is closed. But I shall devote a portion of my time, nay, a good portion, to Eastern Bengal. That would be, I believe, in the interest of both the Dominions.

I saw in the Press that you had fallen ill at Mussoorie. Probably that high altitude does not suit you. I hope you are all right by now and have returned to Delhi.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

95. *From Shankarrao Deo*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Ref. G-7/2799

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
2 June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Satyanarayanji told me on the 'phone this morning that he met Panditji and had a talk about the postponement of the next session of the Constituent Assembly. Panditji told him that there were many things to be considered and as he himself was going to Dehra Dun on the 12th, he would talk personally with

yourself and Sardar Patel about the matter and then a final decision may be taken. I have already announced the dates of the Working Committee and I propose to call a meeting of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee also by that time. After my return from Maharashtra, which I propose to do on the 22nd, I will issue invitations. I hope you will approve of this.

I am leaving for Poona tomorrow morning.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Dehra Dun.

96. *To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai*

Irrigation Branch
Inspection House No. 1
Dehra Dun
4th June 1948

[My dear Rafi Ahmed Saheb,]

I have been told that you are one of the candidates for election as the President of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. There is no constitutional bar to your doing so but the convention has been that the Ministers of the various Provincial Governments as also of the Centre have never held any post either as Secretary or as President of a Provincial Congress Committee or of the All India Congress Committee although they have been members of the Working Committees. The policy has always been not to mix up the office of the Government with that of our Congress organisation as this would lead to complications and would not be physically possible to do justice to both posts for anyone. You know when they elected me the President of the Congress I made it plain that I shall have to resign from the Food Ministry which I did immediately after election. There has been no change in the situation and I see no reason to depart from the policy which we have been following so far. As you happen to be a Minister in the Government of India, I think it is not advisable for you to stand as a candidate for the presidentship of the Provincial Congress Committee. I hope the matter will receive your consideration and you will please let me have a reply per return of mail. I am posting a copy of this letter to you both at Nainital and New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.

97. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No.62, G.P.O.
Patna
The 6th June 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I have advisedly refrained from writing to you all these weeks knowing that you were flitting about from place to place, and would very probably fall a victim (as unfortunately you did) to over-strain. I earnestly hope that by the time this letter is delivered to you, you will have shaken off your illness and become normal in health. I have long since given up reasoning with any of you in the matter of over-straining health, as all of you are likely to brush aside such advice. Only Sardar Patel did me the honour to wire back to me a message saying that he would follow my advice "to go slow", which he seems to have done with considerable advantage to his health.

Thanks to the wisdom of our Ministers in Bihar, the session of our Legislative Assembly, which began on February 14th, ended only on the 2nd of June, when the Zamindari Abolition Bill was duly enacted. I wonder whether the ill-will that its enactment has evoked, amongst certain classes, will be compensated for in other directions, especially by an increase in our finance, for if we gain some money by the Land Tax being direct-payment by the raiyats, we shall be losing soon, I suppose, about six crores from Excise.

I am not quite sure if you can realise from that distance the painful agony we are passing through by reason of the never-ending Bengali-Behari question, in this Province. As usual, in this case also, I have been asked at the last moment to prepare a Memorandum on the subject, and I am going tonight to Ranchi to do so. I have felt heartened by Pandit Jawaharlal's speech at Ooty on this question with special reference to Bengal's alleged claim on Bihar. Just at present I do not envy you since I find that you are a much more abused individual than I have been at any time in my life with the Press and the public of Bengal. I can but hope that Jawaharlalji and you all will stick to your determination not to make matters worse by taking up the question of redistribution of provincial boundaries in Northern India; otherwise, Bihar will set up a claim immediately on the eight eastern districts of the United Provinces, comprising the Benares and Gorakhpur divisions.

Lastly, there is so much to write to you about but I do not know where to stop and I have no desire to inflict upon you an unnecessarily long letter and shall not do so till I hear from you in reply to it and come to know that you are, fortunately for us, once again in your normal health.

Trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Ever yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

98. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

36 Wellington Street
Calcutta
The 8th June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I just now received your telephone message for which I thank you very much. Lest I am misunderstood, I want to assure you that I have been, through various phases of activities in my life, a strict disciplinarian and I entirely agree with you that when we are working within a constitution the rules must be obeyed. All I pleaded for, and I plead again, is that under certain circumstances one may feel helpless. I never intended to flout the authority of the Parliamentary Board, and if I have been frank in my letters to you I did not intend to convey any disrespect either to yourself or to the Parliamentary Board. If such has been the interpretation of the letters which I may have written to you or action I have taken, I ask to be forgiven in all sincerity. When I am in Delhi next week I shall be able to put my views before you in order to test where I am wrong.

As I told you on the phone Kalipada Babu is not in Calcutta. He is in Bishnupur. I am phoning him, but I know that he has already spoken to you in favour of Haren Babu's candidature. My recommendation is also there. I have asked Surendra Babu to come and meet me between 11 and 12 today. I do not know what view he will take, but, in any case, after I have talked with him I will send you a wire. I am waiting for the result of the meeting of the Bishnupur Sub-Divisional Congress Committee, but I am almost positive that they will accept the nomination of Harendra Babu. I shall be anxiously waiting for your approval of the candidature of Harendra Babu.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
B.C. Roy

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

99. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 830-PM

New Delhi
The 8th June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I do hope that you have recovered from your illness. I am told that you intend remaining in Dehra Dun for a few days more. Of course you should remain there

if your health so demands. There are many matters however which continually crop up and which I should like to discuss with you from time to time. Probably I shall be going to Dehra Dun with the Mountbattens on the 12th of this month when I hope to see you also if you are there.

I have just had a message from Shankarrao Deo asking me if early in July will suit me for a Working Committee meeting in Delhi. So far as I am concerned, I am agreeable. There is only one possible conflict and that is in case some important Congress meetings are held in Lucknow round about that time. I have cut myself adrift from U.P. politics for a long time, but I feel now that I must occasionally look into them. However, this Lucknow meeting can be fixed so as to avoid a clash with the Working Committee meeting.

I am enclosing a note which I am sending to Members of the Cabinet. I hope you will agree to associate yourself with this personal gift to the Mountbattens.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Enclosure not included.

100. *To Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel*

Dehra Dun
9th June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji/Vallabhbhai,

I am herewith forwarding copy of a letter I have received from Shri A. Kaleswara Rao of Bezwada. The incident mentioned took place a month ago but is serious enough to deserve attention. I believe similar incidents have occurred since then. The point which needs consideration is that these incidents take place within our own territory which happens to be a sort of island within the Hyderabad territory. People there should be given protection by our Government against the Communists who, it seems, are given refuge within the adjoining Hyderabad territory whenever our police or army proposes to take action.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Enclosure:

(Copy of a letter from A. Kaleswara Rao to Dr. Rajendra Prasad)

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, MADRAS

Camp: 1 Nageswarapuram, Mylapore
Madras

Revered Rajendra Babu,

You might have gone through the Nizam border tour report sent to you by Mr. Prakasam and myself a week ago. Since then very serious developments have taken place in the situation. The Hyderabad Government have lifted the ban on the Communist Party and withdrawn all warrants of arrest against Communist leaders. A pact is said to have been entered into between the Communists and the Ittihadul Mussalmein. In pursuance of that the Communist leaders in the Munagala Pargana have openly declared that they would establish a Communist Republic over the Munagala and Lingagiri Parganas (conclaves in the Nizam's territory) from the 15th inst. and that all persons who owe allegiance to the Congress or the Congress Government would lose their lives and properties. They have begun terrorising Congress people by loot, murder and serious injuries with a view to efface Congress influence completely from that area. Two prominent Congress leaders have been murdered by one hundred armed Communists on the 8th inst. in broad daylight. Fifty Communists have looted the houses of four other Congressmen on the 9th night and caused the most severe injuries to them and they are lying in hospital in a very precarious condition. I am enclosing a cutting from *The Hindu* which reports these incidents. I have received more detailed information from Bezwada. The Nizam Government encourages the occupation of Munagala and Lingagiri by the Communists and when the Communists retire into the neighbouring Nizam area and into the hills therein when superior military forces come to Munagala the Nizam Government will allow them to do so without any arrests or obstruction. When the superior forces leave the place the Communists would come back to Munagala. In this way they can carry on their guerilla warfare. I am told by a Hindu officer of the Hyderabad Government in a very superior service this morning that Laik Ali, the Prime Minister, is openly giving out that he has accepted the challenge of the Government of the Indian Union and that he would get the three districts of Krishna, West Godavari and Guntur through the Communists. He is determined to encourage the Communists in Andhra to give as much trouble as possible to the Congress people here and to the Congress Government. He will also give them money and arms to fight with these people. I am informed by the President of our District Congress Committee that the Communists are giving notices that they will murder Congressmen of our district. No Minister of Madras Government is taking any special interest in our district. At least Minister Madhava Menon is taking special interest in his own

district Malabar. The Madras Government is distant, indifferent and weak. Everything is left to the officials. The lower ranks are corrupt. They can be bribed by the Communists and by the Nizam Government machinery very easily. The local Congress people are divided into groups. The formation of a near and strong Andhra Provincial Government that can pay undivided attention to these things is being delayed. Our beloved Bapu to whom we could pour forth our heart has left us. This is our plight.

You are left by Bapu to take care of us as much as you can. Kindly talk to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardarji about all these things. Why not you come to Bezwada once very soon and find out things personally? As you know it is the headquarters of the Andhra Communist Party.

One thing I shall say and close this tiresome letter. Mr. Munshi told me at Bombay that the Nizam Government is raising difficulties in the way of the *Indian police (of course armies also) passing through the Nizam Kodada area to reach Munagala* as the Indian Union Government has prevented Nizam police and armies from passing through the Indian territory to recover back Paritala. This would certainly help the Communists in Munagala. Kindly take some special interest in our difficulties. I would very much urge your coming to Bezwada once soon to give courage to disheartened people.

If you feel like replying kindly reply to Bezwada.

With pranamams,

Yours sincerely,
A. Kaleswara Rao

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

101. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

Dehra Dun
9th June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I received your two letters about the election of President of the Provincial Congress Committee of U.P. As suggested, as soon as I was able I requested Pandit Pant to meet me which he very kindly did. I requested him to give up the attitude of indifference which he has so far been adopting in these matters and to see that elections were held in a proper atmosphere and so far as possible contest in the election of the President should be avoided. He has promised to me that he

would do what he could in the matter. I have written both to Shri Purushottamdas Tandon and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai that the position which they hold as a Speaker and a Member of the Central Cabinet respectively makes it undesirable that any of them should also be elected as President of the Provincial Congress Committee. I have not yet heard anything from them in reply but I think that while holding the position they do it is not proper although there is no legal and constitutional bar according to our Constitution that they should seek election as President. I think it would be desirable for you to take interest in the matter and to help settle the differences in a satisfactory manner. I am sure if you took it up things should be settled and I will request you to do it. The elections are fixed for the 13th but I doubt if you can find time within the interval to take it up. I am, therefore, prepared to advise postponement of election till a later date which might suit you, if you agree to intervene.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road, New Delhi.

102. *To A. Kaleswara Rao*

Camp: Dehra Dun (U.P.)
9th June 1948

My dear Shri Kaleswara Rao,

I have received your letter giving intimation about the murder of two Congressmen in Munagala Taluka by Communists. I have addressed the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister on the subject. I had made a provisional tour programme and it included a visit to Bezwada but unfortunately before the programme could even be copied out and posted, I was taken seriously ill at Mussoorie and had to be removed to the milder climate of Dehra Dun even when I had high temperature. I am now free from temperature for some days but I am still very weak. On account of my illness I could not attend to your letter earlier. I have had reluctantly to give up the idea of any tour under medical advice.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sj. A. Kaleswara Rao
Bezwada.

103. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Calcutta
10th June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am sending you my observations regarding the letter from the President of East Bengal Minority Welfare Central Committee.

The provisions regarding the framing of Electoral Roll were sent to us from the Centre. Two questions arise:

(a) *The question of domicile:* The Draft Constitution only refers to the condition for citizenship which should operate before the date of commencement of the Constitution. The Constituent Assembly or the Parliament are bound to make further provisions regarding the future citizenship under section 6 of the Draft Constitution. This matter should wait till then.

(b) *Regarding voting rights:* The Government of India is at present prepared to give voting rights only to those who have lived for 180 days in the Union of India before the name is enrolled in the Electoral Roll. I think this period may be altered by the Constituent Assembly. If so, this Draft Electoral Roll will be suitably modified. The time for that, however, is not yet.

The West Bengal Government will proceed to take action as soon as directed by the Centre for the receipt of declaration, keeping a register of such declaration, etc.

Yours sincerely,
B.C. Roy

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

104. *From Shankarrao Deo*

Shivaji Nagar
Poona-5
(In the train)
10 June 1948

Dear Rajendrababu,

A fellow passenger drew my attention to the accompanying note in *The Statesman*. It requires no comment from me. I am sure you will do what is necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Shankarrao Deo

Enclosure:

(A note in *The Statesman*, dated 10 June 1948)

Queer stories are current in Bihar about the Provincial Government's alleged connexion with the sale of the autobiography of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, *Atma-Katha*, published by a private firm. The Revenue Department is said to have bought 500 copies at Rs.12 each for distribution to educational institutions, while, according to report, another department is thinking of purchasing 3,000 copies but has not so far received the Cabinet's permission. If this is true, it would be of interest to know how such a use of public money is justified and why the Revenue Department is taking the initiative in a matter seemingly outside its sphere. Even more disturbing are complaints that someone of importance in the Government has issued a circular instructing officials to boost the sales of the book, and that officials have dutifully got in touch with institutions, including factories, for the purpose. Dr. Rajendra Prasad would be the first to denounce such an abuse of official authority, which savours of extortion, and it is to be hoped that if the complaints have substance, the Ministry will quickly remove the cause.

105. To Prithvi Singh Azad

Dehra Dun
11th June 1948

My dear Shri Prithvi Singhji,

I have received your letter dated the 22nd May. There is some misunderstanding about the Commission which I am appointing regarding the formation of new Provinces. That Commission has nothing to do with the Punjab. It is concerned only with the creation of new Provinces like Andhra, Karnataka, etc., in the South. It has also nothing to do with the revision of boundaries of the existing Provinces. I have not seen the statement to which you refer. I do not think anything that I have said can lend itself to the interpretation which you have put on it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra PrasadHon'ble Shri Prithvi Singh Azad
Minister, Government of East Punjab
Simla.

106. *To Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

CONFIDENTIAL

Dehra Dun (U.P.)

11th June 1948

My dear Dr. Ghosh,

I have received your letter dated 1st June 1948. You might be knowing I had had an attack of pneumonia from which I am just recovering. I could not, therefore, write to you earlier. I am here for a few days more and then will go back to Delhi. Sardar Vallabhbhai is also here.

I had no intimation that you had agreed to take up the job of Joint High Commissioner on condition that you would continue in the Working Committee. But the question now does not arise as I understand there is going to be no Joint High Commissioner and you are out of the question. You can, of course, do what you can to help the people of East Pakistan even while you continue to be a member of the Working Committee. I only hope it will not create any misunderstanding with the East Pakistan Government or any other kind of complication.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
6 Suren Tagore Road, Ballygunge.

107. *To Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Dehra Dun

11th June 1948

My dear Dr. Roy,

Your letter dated the 25th May has been received. I could not write to you earlier on account of my illness at Mussoorie where I caught chill which resulted in pneumonia. I am detained here for a few days on account of my ill health and I am convalescing now.

I never meant in my letter of 15th May that there had been any threat held out to Sjts. Naskar and Burman and that they had helped you to pass over that crisis under that threat. What I said was that your opponents might interpret it in that way and I did not like that you should be exposed to that kind of criticism.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy
Prime Minister, West Bengal
Calcutta.

108. *To C. Rajagopalachari*

CONFIDENTIAL

Dehra Dun
11th June 1948

My dear Rajaji,

I have received your letter dated 25th May along with copy of a letter from Dr. Prafulla Ghosh. I am sorry I could not attend to it earlier as on the 25th I fell ill at Mussoorie and I am just recovering from the effects of it. It was pneumonia. I am detained here for a few days for convalescence. Sardar Patel is also here.

The question of Dr. P.C. Ghosh continuing as a member of the Working Committee while he becomes the Joint High Commissioner in East Pakistan now does not arise as, I understand, some difficulty has arisen and the appointment is not going to be made. So it is unnecessary to go into the matter any further.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor of West Bengal
Calcutta.

109. *To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Dehra Dun
12th June 1948

My dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated the 6th June. I came to Mussoorie on the 23rd ultimo in connection with a conference, which Sardar Vallabhbhai had convened, of Industrialists of India in connection with the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. I had planned to return to Delhi after attending the conference which was to be held on the 24th and 25th May. Unfortunately on the evening of the 25th I caught chill which resulted in high temperature and I was told that I had developed pneumonia. I was removed to the milder climate of Dehra Dun on the 28th even while I had rather high temperature. After coming here I gradually recovered and have been free from fever for more than a week. I am still weak and have been advised to stay here as long as possible which means until rains commence. I cannot stand the rainy season of this place. It seems I shall be here only for a few days more and then go back to Delhi. Sardar Vallabhbhai is also here. As the height of Mussoorie did not suit him, he was advised to come down to a lower level. He is also much better.

I am full of misgivings about the effects of the Zamindari Abolition Act. I do not know if it will please the ryots, in whose interest it has been enacted, after it has come into force and they realise that no reduction in rent is going to take place and that, instead of the Zamindar/Tehsildar, Government Agency will enforce payment of rent, perhaps in a more rigid way. We have to wait and see how things develop.

I know the agitation which is being carried on there about amalgamation of certain portions of Bihar with West Bengal, I saw the other day in *The Statesman* a letter from someone of its readers, making out a case for incorporation of Darjeeling with Bihar. I was told there is a similar case for the amalgamation of the district of Maldah. I have received a letter informing me that the District Congress Committee of Manbhum has turned down a resolution moved by its President for the incorporation of Manbhum with West Bengal. I do not think it will be wise to raise the question of transfer of some districts of U.P. to Bihar. It will only complicate the issue and create prejudice against Bihar in other circles which is not desirable. I know that I am receiving attention from friends in Bengal. I have been receiving communications from S. Sarat Chandra Bose and others. That, of course, need not worry us as it is the inevitable reward of everyone who takes interest in public work.

I hope you are doing well.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law
Patna.

110. *From K.G. Mashruwala*

Bajajwadi, Wardha, C.P.
13th June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I send herewith copy of a letter received by me today from Mr. Horace Alexander written from Oslo, Norway, on the 3rd instant, and wish to draw your particular attention to its second paragraph. My suggestion is, if it is approved by you, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlalji and others, that the amount of the prize, if it is awarded to Gandhiji, should be handed over to the Gandhi National Memorial Fund or Sarva Seva Sangh—if it materialises in a proper form—earmarked for being used for the promotion of peace and healthy relations between different communities and nations. The Sarvodaya Samaj, as at present envisaged, is not expected to possess any funds and one does not know the future of the *Harijan* newspaper. But perhaps by the *Harijan* newspaper may be taken the Navajivan Press. I do not know if that Trust would take charge of this prize.

I do not know if I am the right person to be written to in this respect. But since I have been asked I cannot do better than to turn to you for advice. I am sending a copy of this to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Pandit Jawaharlalji also to enable you to consult them. I am not replying to Mr. Alexander before I hear from you.

Yours sincerely,
K.G. Mashruwala

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Copy of letter dated 3 June 1948 from Horace Alexander, Honorary Secretary,
World Pacifist Meeting, from Oslo, Norway)

Dear Friend,

Hiralal Bose has kindly forwarded your letter of 13th May, enclosing the appeal for making August 6th a day of special dedication for peace. I am afraid I do not know anything about Alfred Parker or his organisation, so I do not think I can advise you in this matter.

However, your letter has reached me at a specially opportune moment. You will see that I am just now in Oslo, and today I have been meeting some of the officials of the Nobel Committee, who prepare the material for the Nobel Peace Award. You probably know that Gandhiji's name has been recommended from several quarters for this year's award, and although a posthumous award has never been granted hitherto, there is nothing in the rules that makes it impossible. One important consideration, however, is, if the award is given to Gandhiji post mortem, to whom then should the actual money award be sent? The natural answer would seem to be, to the society or group or organisation that is the most effective continuing agency of his work for peace. But which agency would that be? In the memorandum that I submitted this morning I have ventured to suggest either the new Sarvodaya Samaj or the *Harijan* newspaper. But I am not quite clear myself whether one or both of these is in fact the most suitable, and it would be a great help if you or one of your colleagues at Wardha could, as soon as possible, send a full statement of the position, indicating as exactly as possible what is the Samaj or other group that now carries the greatest responsibility for carrying on Gandhiji's work in its relation to peace, both inter-communal and international. This should be sent to:

Director Schou
Nobel Committee
Drammensvei-19
Oslo, Norway.

I cannot end this letter without letting you know how much I am appreciating *Harijan* as you edit it. Let me confess that I was not sure that I wanted it to continue, since I often used to feel that much of what was written by people other than Gandhiji himself in former times was not really written in his spirit. But I have not felt that at all in recent numbers. And how right you are, surely, in expecting your contributors, all of whom, no doubt, have been in close contact with Gandhiji, to write their own sincere conviction, even if that is not always an exact reflection of what he himself would have said.

I am afraid that, owing to my absence from India in recent months, I have not yet enrolled as a member of the Sarvodaya Samaj, but I expect to return to India in October, so perhaps that will be the appropriate time. I was very glad to see that no formal conditions of membership were demanded, but that each of us is left to decide in his own conscience if he is living as befits one who joins a Society whose purpose is to keep Gandhiji's work alive.

With best wishes to you all,

Yours sincerely,
Horace Alexander

111. To Jawaharlal Nehru

Dehra Dun
13th June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter No. 930-PM dated the 8th June 1948.

I am free from any disease now but doctors have advised me to stay here for some time more to enable myself to gain a little strength. I cannot stay here after the monsoon has commenced because the rainy season does not suit me. I shall be back, I think, within a few days.

You may have noticed in the Press that I postponed the meeting of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee to 4th July. I did it particularly in view of your engagements. The working Committee's meeting is fixed for the 1st and the 2nd July so that you will have time to go to U.P. for this meeting and there will be no clash with the Working Committee meeting.

I have seen the note about the present of a souvenir to Lord and Lady Mountbatten on the eve of their departure from India. I gladly associate myself with the proposal and am enclosing herewith on a separate piece of paper my signature both in Hindi and English so that it might be inscribed on the Tray either in Hindi or in English whichever is considered best. I shall contribute my share of the cost.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi.

112. *To Jayaprakash Narayan*

Camp: Dehra Dun
13th June 1948

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated the 30th May 1948 forwarding to me resolutions passed by the National Executive of the Socialist Party at its meeting held at Belgaon on May 24 to 26, 1948.

As regards the first resolution regarding the Constituent Assembly, the question about its competence and character has never been raised before this and the Assembly has so far acted as a duly constituted Assembly having the right and the power to frame a Constitution. Even persons belonging to the Socialist Party like Seth Damodar Swarup never raised any question about its competence and character. It is not for the Government of India, which did not create the Constituent Assembly, to dissolve it and to convene another in its place. The Constituent Assembly would have appreciated and given due consideration to any comments and criticism on the Draft Constitution as prepared by its Drafting Committee. The Draft has been published for public criticism and suggestions received from various individuals and associations are being considered by the Drafting Committee and will be, in due course, placed before the Constituent Assembly. I trust it is not yet too late for the Socialist Party to offer any constructive criticism on the Draft.

As regards the second resolution regarding India's relation to Britain, I am not aware of secret talks now going on between the Governments of India and United Kingdom. Whatever decision the Government of India may take will be made public. If you have any information about any secret negotiation, I shall be obliged if you let me have it so that I might take up the matter with the Government of India.

As regards linguistic Provinces, the matter has been referred to a Commission which I have appointed on behalf of the Constituent Assembly. The Commission will go into the question and make a report in due course, taking into consideration all aspects of creation of new Provinces. After creation of new Provinces is recommended and accepted by the Constituent Assembly, the question of delimitation of boundaries will be referred to a Boundary Commission. The points raised in the resolution will undoubtedly be considered by the Commission. I am passing on the resolution to them and if the Socialist Party would like to amplify the points raised in the resolution in a memorandum, it may do so and I have no doubt the Commission will consider the points.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sj. Jayaprakash Narayan
General Secretary, Socialist Party
Bombay.

113. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

No. 771/HPR

Wellington Street
Calcutta

13th June 1948

My dear Rajendra Prasad,

I am enclosing copy of a circular which is said to have been issued by the Government of Bihar from which you will notice that an attempt is being made by the Government of Bihar to influence the owners of certain collieries to employ Biharees. While it is in the interest of the Government of Bihar to see that more persons belonging to the Province get employment in these concerns, the way in which it has been circulated would necessarily mean that the *non-manual* appointments in those concerns would in future be given not on the basis of merit or qualification but on the basis of community. This is a form of communal psychology or provincial psychology which I for one would deprecate most strongly. I hope you will ask the Bihar Government not to pursue this because for one thing it might lead to repercussion. This attitude of Bihar Government should be modified.

Yours sincerely,

B.C. Roy

Premier, West Bengal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

114. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*Dehra Dun
13 June 1948

My dear Pantji,

I have received a letter copy of which I am enclosing.* It is not signed by anyone in his hand but the name of Shri Damodar Swarup is typed. I do not think it is written by Shri Damodar Swarup but it anyway contains information which you should know and which is, evidently, accepted by some people at least as correct.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra PrasadHon'ble Govind Ballabh Pant
Naini Tal.

*Not included. But see enclosure to Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter to Govind Ballabh Pant of the same date.

115. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*

Dehra Dun
13 June 1948

My dear Pantji,

I have received a letter from Seth Damodar Swarup copy of which I am forwarding to you. I am writing to him that it is a matter in which he should approach the Provincial Government and it is not for me to interfere.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Shri Govind Ballabh Pant
Naini Tal.

Enclosure:

(A letter from Seth Damodar Swarup)

Naini Tal
5 June 1948

Dear Friend,

The popular Congress Ministers in the Province are not following the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi.

Examples:

Shri Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Minister of Communication, is marrying his two sons from Nagina in U.P. today.

He has invited 2,000 guests as against 50 guests which he would have invited if he were a Vakil as he was.

One Aerodrome (landing strip for aerodrome plane) is being built for landing the aeroplane of his guests at the expense of the Hind Flying Club or Government.

The kutchra road from his residence to the residence of the father-in-law of his sons is being metalled at Government expense for this marriage.

The road is about 20 miles long.

One Executive Engineer of P.W.D. is working wholetime for arrangements of the marriage of his sons.

The P.W.D. marks on Government furniture are being obliterated so that the furniture may be used in the marriage without being found out. Electric ceiling fans and table fans of Government Inspection House at Moradabad have gone for use in this marriage.

Some officers who attend this marriage will get travelling allowance at Government expense.

Please arrange to stop such colossal waste of public funds, materials and energy at once and do not keep such Ministers who lower the prestige of the Congress High Command in the eyes of the voters.

Jai Hind.

Yours sincerely,
Damodar Swarup

116. *To Harinath Misra*

Dehra Dun
15th June 1948

My dear Harinathji,

I received your telegram two days ago but did not reply by a telegram as all that I wish to say could not be conveyed in that.

I am glad that you are interested in having a university in Mithila. I doubt, however, if a university of the type we have is of any use. Some years ago there was a wave in our Province for having schools and within a very short time we had a very large number of new high schools established all over the Province. It became a fashion to have a school in one's village and every Congressman of note tried to have one such school just as in another generation every well-to-do man had the ambition to have an elephant at his door. This was followed some years later by a race for colleges, and we have now so many colleges in the Province. Every district has one or more colleges and some of the subdivisions also have colleges. Now is the turn of university. I do not wish to decry this enthusiasm but we need a good genuine university which would fulfil two requirements or at least one. The two requirements in my judgement are that it should be able to produce scholars and scientists who will not only preserve the learning of the past but also increase the bounds of knowledge. The second requirement is that it should be able to serve the people in a practical way by providing them with useful knowledge and by enabling them to take advantage of the latest advances in art and science and apply them practically in their own cases. The Patna University has been in existence for 30 years and I think that is long enough a period for a university to make a mark in any of these two directions, if not in both. I hope I am not misjudging but my own feeling is that the University cannot claim that it has increased the bounds of knowledge in any direction—literature, philosophy, art, science and applied sciences of modern days. It cannot claim also that it has been able to spread amongst our people knowledge which has been of any use to them. Not to speak of the higher things, it has not been able to produce students who can successfully compete at all-India examinations like the Indian Civil Service examination of the late Government or the Public Administration Service examination of the present Government or the examinations of the Finance Department or of the Military Academy. We do not see our students

competing at any of these examinations with the result that there are so few of them in any of these services. Not only that, it does not produce students who can pass and obtain its own higher degrees like doctorate etc. I doubt if the Patna University has produced a single Doctor of Law who has passed its own test and got the degree. I do not know if there are any D.Sc.s and Ph.D.s of the Patna University. I know there are some M.D.s. We have had no college for giving instruction in Metallurgical Engineering or Electrical Engineering or Agriculture. I hear there is one in the process of being established now. What kind of university do you contemplate? Is it to be a copy of the Patna University or do you aim at something else? I do not like to have copies of what I do not admire and hence my hesitation in supporting your appeal. If you want a really good university, strike out a new line. I was hearing this very morning on the Radio of the foundations of an Engineering College being laid by Lord Mountbatten in the Village University of Gujarat. I have heard a lot about it but not seen it. When it begins to function in all its departments, it will not be the same diploma-distributing institution which will give diplomas that will have no value anywhere in the world but will actually cater for the needs of the villages and convert the whole Province of Gujarat into a prosperous smiling Province. Do have a university by all means but a university that will either be a repository of knowledge of the past and an instrument for its actual advancement and also a centre which would radiate light and make every home in the Province happier and more prosperous.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

117. *From Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

6 Suren Tagore Road
Ballygunge, Calcutta
16 June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have your letter of the 11th instant. Only four days ago I heard from Pyarelalji that you had an attack of pneumonia. I was really anxious in view of the fact that an attack of pneumonia at this age might prove dangerous. I am glad to learn that you are recovering. I think you should take complete rest for some time in a cold but dry place. As far as my impression goes, South India suits you most. I would request you to consider the question of going to some place in South India like Kodaikanal for a month or so. You should not do hard work now in any case. However, I need not say much. From Press reports it appears that Sardar has recouped a lot, but he should also be very careful.

I want to bring to your notice one very important fact. I am sure it has already attracted your attention, viz. the question of provincialism. If things go on in this

way, I see nothing but complete disintegration of India in the very near future. It is becoming worse than communalism.

I am going to Gauhati on the 18th and shall also go to Shillong for two days. From there I shall go to Comilla and then return to Calcutta on the 28th so that I may be able to attend the meeting of the Working Committee on the 1st and 2nd July. I do not know whether the Working Committee meeting will be held on the 1st and 2nd July. In case the Working Committee meeting is held later, I would like to spend a few more days in Eastern Bengal.

More when we meet. With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla Chandra Ghosh

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Dehra Dun (U.P.).

118. *From Hiralal Bose*

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

1 Upper Wood Street
Calcutta-16
16th June 1948

Dear Dr. Prasad,

I have received a card dated 8th June from your Secretary and was very sorry to hear that you have been ill. I hope you have been recovering rapidly and will be fit again soon.

In the minutes of one of our past meetings you will have seen that it was agreed that special invitations should be sent to Dr. Albert Einstein, Mr. Gerald Heard and Dr. Albert Schweitzer, and the Committee here and Horace Alexander, who is now in England, thought it would be best if these letters were signed by you. I enclose therefore three letters* and, if you approve them, should be grateful if you would sign and return them to me, so that I can forward them with enclosures to the addressees. If however you think any alteration in the draft necessary please feel free to do so; in that case I hope you will be able to have them retyped and I enclose three blank note papers for this purpose.

When I last spoke to you on the telephone you thought that the use of your name as Chairman of the World Pacifist Meeting could be put off till a later date. I hope you will excuse our presumption that we can now use your name as Chairman for we think you will appreciate that if such letters, as should be signed by you, went under your signature as Chairman, it will greatly help the cause and the work in connection with the organisation of the Meeting.

I understand that the Congress Working Committee is meeting in New Delhi in the first week of July. I shall try to be in Delhi about then and hope, after the Working Committee meetings, you will be able to give me some time. There are so many things to discuss and to take your advice on. I wonder if the few days between the Working Committee meeting and the Constituent Assembly meeting you will be staying in Delhi or will be going out again.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hiralal Bose

P.S. I am sending this letter to your New Delhi address as I notice in the paper that you will be there on 20th June.

Hiralal Bose

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
Camp: Dehra Dun.

*Only one, addressed to Dr. Albert Einstein, is included.

Enclosure:

(Letter to Dr. Albert Einstein)

Dear Friend,

The enclosed two letters of invitation,* which have gone out to about 50 people in different countries of the world, will give you some background of the proposed World Pacifist Meeting, to be held in India in January 1949.

This Meeting, as you will see, was planned to be held under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. But alas, this is no longer possible. Nevertheless, we are proceeding with the plans for the Meeting as we believe he would have wished. In fact, because Gandhiji is no more, we feel that it is all the more necessary to hold the Meeting; for an added responsibility rests on us to give effect to the concern that we have shared with him and to make the witness of pacifism and non-violence more effective in the world.

It is our belief that, in view of the present world situation, this Pacifist Meeting can prove of great significance and that you can by your participation make a very important contribution to it. It is therefore the earnest hope of the Committee here that you can arrange to take the necessary time from your work in order to attend this Meeting. I would assure you that people throughout India will warmly welcome your visit to their country.

If you would prefer to travel by air, we should be glad to make the necessary arrangements for such a journey. Your expenses will be met from our funds, as indicated in the accompanying letter.

Kindly send your reply to the Secretary, World Pacifist Meeting, 1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta-16, India.

Yours sincerely,

Rajendra Prasad

Chairman

Committee for World Pacifist Meeting

Dr. Albert Einstein.

*Not included.

119. *To Dr. Gopichand Bhargava*

Dehra Dun

17 June 1948

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 9th June. I am much better now. I have no complaint except that I am still weak. I am taking my usual food and also morning walk but I have been advised not to undertake any tour at all. I hope to be back to Delhi within the next few days and stay there until the commencement of monsoon when I would go to some drier place. I hope you will, therefore, excuse me for not being able to come to Simla.

I have received your other letters about Congressmen interfering with officers of the Government. I could not attend to it during my illness but have asked the A.I.C.C. office to move in the matter and to write to the Provincial Congress Committee about it. I hope they will be taking some steps immediately. I personally do not like that Congress people should interfere with District and other officers. They should cooperate with them and if they have any complaint, they should approach the Government.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister, East Punjab
Simla.

120. *To Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh*

Dehra Dun (U.P.)

17 June 1948

My dear Dr. Ghosh,

I have received your letter and thank you for it. I am now free from any trouble and propose to go back to Delhi within the next two or three days.

We have fixed the meeting of the Working Committee for the 1st and 2nd July. The principal questions which would come up for discussion are: (1) Constitution of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The instruction issued on behalf of the Working Committee on the last occasion has created some misunderstanding and I have received protests. The thing has to be settled. (2) The demand of Sindhi and N.W.F. men who have migrated to India to be represented in the Congress. (3) The venue and time of the next session of the Congress. (4) Relation between India and England (if time permits), and certain other matters.

There will be a meeting of the Parliamentary Board also perhaps a day before the meeting of the Working Committee. I want to place before the Working Committee definite proposals on points 1 and 2 mentioned above and would like them to be considered a day or two in advance of the meeting of the Working Committee. I have forgotten to mention another important item and that is the position of Praja Mandals and Congress Committees in States in relation to the A.I.C.C. This question requires a comprehensive treatment as many questions are coming up in this connection. I will therefore wish you to be in Delhi at least one day, if not two days, in advance of the Working Committee meeting. I hope it will be possible for you to do so.

I agree that provincialism is assuming a very ugly shape and we must check its growth but I do not know how to do it and what to do for it. We shall, however, talk about it when you arrive at the time of the Working Committee meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
Ballygunge, Calcutta.

121. *To K.G. Mashruwala*

Dehra Dun
18 June 1948

My dear Kishorelal Bhai,

I have received your letter dated the 13th June. Sardar Vallabhbhai had shown to me your letter before I received yours. Sometime ago I received a letter from a Bengali professor who had moved a great deal in the Scandinavian countries delivering lectures on philosophy and cultural subjects. He had shown me also a letter which he had received from a friend of his. He informed me that under the rules of the Trust any person who had won the Nobel Prize was entitled to

propose another person for the award of the prize and that one prize winner had suggested Bapu's name for posthumous award to him. He had pointed out further that the Trustees would like to be assured that the money would not be utilised by the heirs of Gandhiji for their personal benefits and would be used for work in connection with peace propaganda. He wanted that someone should give this assurance and write to the party at Oslo to this effect. I told the Bengali professor in reply after consulting Devadas that there was no difficulty in giving assurances that the fund would be utilised for the peace propaganda and not appropriated by the heirs of Gandhiji. It was suggested that the Navajivan Trust or the Gandhi National Memorial Fund could receive the prize and use it for the purpose indicated. We felt however that it would not be right for us to send all this information and assurance on the letter coming to us in this indirect way and that if anyone in authority would write to me or to the Prime Minister, we could reply. We asked the professor to communicate this to his friend. I talked with Sardar Vallabhbhai after receiving your letter and he also agrees that our writing directly to the authorities concerned would appear as if we were keen on getting the prize. It would be desirable that someone in authority should write to me or to the Prime Minister and then we could give the necessary information and assurance. I would suggest that since you have received the letter from Mr. Horace Alexander, you could convey all this information as desired by him to the Director, Schou, Nobel Committee, Drammensvei-19, Oslo, Norway, and tell them that the persons who could give the necessary assurance and undertake the trust would be either the Gandhi National Memorial Fund or the Navajivan Trust and that they would in this connection write to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, or to me as President of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund and President of the Congress and on receipt of their letter any of us could write.

I hope this should be sufficient. You may write to Mr. Horace Alexander and ask him to write on his own to the authorities concerned to the same effect.

I came to Mussoorie in connection with the Gandhi Memorial Fund meeting of industrialists and there caught pneumonia. I was brought down to Dehra Dun and have recovered now and will return to Delhi in a day or two where I will stay. I had planned a tour in that connection; that has had to be cancelled.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

P.S. This was dictated at Dehra Dun but has been signed by me here at Delhi today.

Shri Kishorelal G. Mashruwala
Bajajwadi, Wardha.

122. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*

Dehra Dun
18 June 1948

My dear Pantji,

At Mussoorie I had provisionally made a programme for visiting some important cities in connection with the Gandhi Memorial Fund. Cawnpore was one of the places included in the programme. But unfortunately on account of my illness that programme has had to be cancelled and I have been advised not to undertake any tour at all, at least for some time. It was, therefore, thought desirable that Acharya Kripalani should go to these places and help in the collections. I think, he himself will write to you about this. Kindly fix a suitable date when he could go and start the work. Seth Mungaturam Jaipuria had promised to give help in the collections and even to accompany me to other places. I am writing to him also.

I have received some complaints from some U.P. Congressmen about the way in which, they allege, the provincial office is working on party lines and trying to oust those who are not in agreement with it. I do not wish to trouble you with details at this stage but it is unfortunate that there should be this kind of feeling. I will tell you when we meet about it.

We are having a meeting of the Working Committee on the 1st and 2nd July. The meeting of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee is fixed for the 4th. So it will be possible for Pandit Jawaharlalji to go there in time.

I hope you are well. I am returning to Delhi within the next two or three days. I have maintained progress in my health.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Naini Tal.

123. *To Hiralal Bose*

Camp: Dehra Dun
18 June 1948

My dear Hiralal Babu,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 25th May 1948. I am sorry I could not attend to it before now on account of my rather serious illness from which I am just convalescing. I have been staying here under medical advice but hope to go

back to Delhi within the next few days and stay there till about at least the middle of July. I have read with interest the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on the 7th April. I shall await the draft which, you say, is under preparation for a broadcast talk. I shall consider the matter when I see the draft after my return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sj. Hiralal Bose
1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta.

124. *From Hiralal Bose*

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING

1 Upper Wood Street
Calcutta-16
19th June 1948

Dear Dr. Prasad,

You will have received my letter of 16th June with enclosures.

I find in this morning's paper that the Congress Working Committee is meeting in New Delhi on the 1st and 2nd July. I have tentatively arranged to arrive in Delhi on the afternoon of 2nd July, Friday, by Toofan Express in the hope that you will be able to give me some time after the Working Committee meetings, probably on the 3rd July onwards. The Budget is now ready as also some material for the proposed broadcast, and I shall bring them with me. I should be grateful if you were able to drop me a line saying if you would be staying in Delhi a few days after 2nd July.

The place in Delhi where I am likely to stay is quite remote from your house and I have not been able to make any arrangement for transport. I was wondering therefore if it may be possible for me to stay in your house for the first 2/3 days after my arrival, so that I can quietly finish my work with you and then go elsewhere.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hiralal Bose

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

125. *To Members of the Congress Working Committee*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
20 June 1948

A meeting of the Congress Working Committee is going to be held on the 1st July at 7 Jantar Mantar Road at 3 p.m. as members would like to have information and discussion on the following points. I shall be obliged if you would attend.

- (1) High prices of food and also of cloth and the repercussion of these high prices on the general life of the people;
- (2) general deterioration in the efficiency of administration, particularly corruption;
- (3) transport difficulties and bottleneck;
- (4) the situation with regard to relief and rehabilitation of emigrants from Pakistan; and
- (5) the situation of Hyderabad and Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

126. *From Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

4 King Edward Road
New Delhi
20th June 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I find that a Commission has been appointed by you to examine the question of formation of some new Provinces on a linguistic basis. I wrote to you on the subject of Bihar-West Bengal boundaries sometime ago and you pointed out in reply that the Commission was intended only to explore the possibility of creating new Provinces and not to readjust provincial boundaries.

You draw a distinction between creation of new Provinces and adjustment of boundaries of existing Provinces and regard the case of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra as a case of creating new Provinces and the case of West Bengal and Bihar as a case of adjustment of existing boundaries. I am sorry to say that I cannot accept the distinction nor do I find any principle underlying such a distinction. In fact, the two cases are really one. They are merely the obverse and

reverse sides of the same medal. The question before the Constituent Assembly is not, as you say, creation of new Provinces. The question is *creation of new Provinces on linguistic basis*. If you accept this to be the correct scope of the question, then the distinction you are making vanishes. For the creation of a new Province on linguistic basis must, in the circumstances as they exist, involve the readjustment of the boundaries of existing Provinces.

I would earnestly request you to re-examine the matter not only in the light of the recommendations made by the Drafting Committee but also in regard to broad policy. The entire basis, to my mind, is to create linguistic Provinces and that in fact is indicated by the very wording of paragraph 20 of the letter of the Chairman of the Drafting Committee addressed to you. The creation of linguistic Provinces has also been accepted in principle by the Congress. In order to give effect to this principle, it may be necessary either to create some new Provinces altogether or to make suitable adjustments in existing provincial boundaries.

It would have been one thing if the entire question of creation of linguistic Provinces had not been taken in hand before the new Constitution was brought into force. But if the matter is to be considered and decided, in respect of some areas within the country, it would be grossly unfair to ignore West Bengal's case merely on the technical ground that this does not involve consideration of the much bigger issue of creation of an entirely new Province. It is not my intention to go into the merits of the case in this letter. All that I would request you is that you should take steps to appoint a Commission to go into this matter before the new Constitution is finalised by the Constituent Assembly. Under the existing Act, the Government of India under section 290 may create new Provinces or readjust existing provincial boundaries. It would not be fair to suggest that you as President of the Constituent Assembly will deal only with the creation of new Provinces and leave it to the Government of India to settle the question of redistribution of provincial boundaries. Both may well come under your purview, as on their proper settlement will depend the exercise of rights of franchise of the people concerned when the first election takes place under the new Constitution.

I fully appreciate your own delicate position. But knowing you as I do, I am also aware that you will not hesitate to take the just and right step in the interest of the country and for the maintenance of good relationship between one Province and another. We have been greatly perturbed at the way in which tension has been increasing during the last few weeks. The remedy is not to ignore the causes of the tension but to examine and adjust them through an impartial tribunal in a manner which will inspire confidence from all sides.

I still hope we will be able to secure a just and peaceful settlement of this problem with the cooperation of you and others.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

127. From M.S. Aney

Governor's Camp
Bihar
June 21, 1948

My dear Babu Rajendra Prasad,

I enclose for your information a copy of a letter I have addressed to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of India regarding the appointment of a Commission to examine and report on the question of formation of new Provinces in South India.

Yours sincerely,
M.S. Aney
Governor, Bihar

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

SECRET & CONFIDENTIAL

Ranchi
June 21, 1948

Sir,

I am writing this letter not as the Governor of Bihar but as a citizen of C.P. & Berar and an ex-member of the Constituent Assembly.

I read in the daily papers of June 18, 1948, a Press communique issued on June 16 by the Constituent Assembly of India appointing a Commission to examine and report on the formation of new Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra, and on the administrative, financial and other consequences of the creation of such Provinces.

The communique also gives the personnel of the Permanent Members and the Associate Members of the above-mentioned Commission.

In giving the reasons for the appointment of the above Commission the communique states (1) firstly the question of formation of certain new Provinces has been engaging public attention for some time, and (2) secondly the Drafting Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly made a recommendation for the appointment of such a Commission.

While I do not desire to belittle the importance of the demand for the creation of certain new Provinces, I cannot but state that the appointment of any Commission by the Constituent Assembly at this time to enquire and report on the same within certain limited time is very inopportune.

The political situation in the country is not such as to favour the cool, calm and

dispassionate consideration of the many minute details without which the Commission cannot come to sound conclusions and make proper recommendations.

The Commission will mainly have to deal with those parts of India whose boundaries border on the territories of the Hyderabad State. Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra and the Marathi-speaking districts of C.P. & Berar known as Mahavidarbha are all adjacent to and contiguous with the boundaries of the Nizam's State. During the last two months we are daily receiving reports of the raids of Razakars on villages in C.P. & Berar, Bombay and Madras which are near the borders of the Hyderabad State. There is a great state of panic and insecurity of life and property in all these districts. A glance at the map of India will show that the State of Hyderabad is surrounded by those areas of C.P. & Berar, Bombay and Madras out of which most of the new Provinces on linguistic basis are to be created. The creation of the new Provinces mentioned in the communique affects to a very large extent the future of the people living in or in the vicinity of these border districts.

In view of the very disturbed and unsettled conditions in these parts, the Provincial Governments have been specially instructed by the Central Government to take special measures for the safety and security of the people of these areas. Thousands of people from the Nizam's territory are daily immigrating to and taking shelter in these parts of the state of the Indian Union. There is a good deal of infiltration of people of dubious character also. The people living in these parts have to be trained and prepared for self-defence. They are also being persuaded to go through the training and join the National Home Guards. All energies of the Government, Central and Provincial, must be concentrated exclusively on these essential efforts. Any enquiry which is likely to affect the future of these people permanently ought not to be undertaken at this time. It must be postponed to some date in future when the present state of disorder, confusion, panic and uncertainty will disappear and the people will have leisure to think of these problems coolly and dispassionately.

As the enquiry deals with an issue that involves transfer of millions of people from the existing administration to some new administration to be created, the Commission will have to make very exhaustive enquiries and invite opinions of all kinds of people to be affected by the contemplated changes. Consideration of resolutions passed by certain institutions that have recently sprung up like mushrooms, evidence of a few persons who are very vocal will not at all be satisfactory. In fact the Commission will have to call for a plebiscite to be taken on the issue, giving adequate time to the people concerned to understand all the implications of the momentous changes contemplated. It will be a miracle if the Commission will be able to do all this by the end of September.

The recent breakdown of the talks to bring about some kind of peaceful settlement between the Union Government and the Nizam has created a situation which is pregnant with ominous potentialities. I think that it will be very unfortunate if the Commission be advised to proceed with its work in disregard

of this dangerous situation.

I am afraid that the constitutional lawyers who have recommended the appointment of the Commission have not realised that the enquiry which they desire the Commission to make is likely to affect very seriously the possibility of an amicable settlement between the Government of Hyderabad State and that of the Indian Union. Formation of new Provinces on linguistic basis should be considered after the problem of the future relation of Hyderabad to India is definitely settled, amicably or otherwise, and not before.

The Commission will in all probability have to go to some extent into and investigate matters regarding the extent of the territories inside the Hyderabad State occupied by people speaking Marathi, Telugu and Kannad languages in order to fully appreciate the significance of the various schemes of division of Indian Union on linguistic basis that may be placed before them. Advocates of this principle will even urge for the incorporation of the various districts of the Nizam's Dominion into the new Provinces to be formed on the basis of linguistic affinity. The attempts which are being made by the leaders of Karnataka to include the Mysore State in the proposed Karnataka Province are well known. It is also a matter of history how the Karnataka leaders, like Mr. Dewakar and others, insisted on the ruling princes of the now defunct Deccan States Union that their constitution must definitely provide a clause to enable the Kannad population of the Union to opt out of it and join the new Karnataka Province when formed; and so a clause to that effect was inserted in the Covenant by the signatories to secure the consent of the leaders of the Praja Mandal to the scheme of union. The leading politicians like Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and others fully supported the Karnataka leaders in this matter. The Commission appointed by the Government of India will therefore be strongly suspected by the Government of the Nizam as a clever and sinister move of the Government of India to prepare a scheme of provincial formations in Southern India for the complete merger and absorption of the Nizam's Dominion in the Indian Union territories soon after their accession to the Union. This apprehension will render all attempts at settlement well nigh impossible. Even if we feel, as many of us do, that the Hyderabad issue will have to be fought out and not solved by negotiations, still I consider it prudent for the Government of India not to give at this time any official recognition to the movement for the formation of the new Provinces in the South by taking any active steps to carry out that idea. The Commission appointed may be advised not to proceed with the enquiry and report to the President before the introduction of the Draft Constitution in the Constituent Assembly for consideration at its next meeting. The enquiry of the Commission and its report recommending formation of the new Provinces will furnish the reactionary elements in the Nizam's State with a very handy weapon to create all sorts of misunderstanding about the intentions of the Government of the Union and to consolidate the forces of reaction, fanaticism and bigotry in the State.

The scheme to create three or four Provinces surrounding the Nizam's territories will be construed as a plan to create forces that shall sooner rather than

later result in the total annihilation of the Nizam's State itself. I think that it will be wise for the Government of India to reconsider their decision to appoint the Commission, or at any rate to advise the Commission not to proceed with the enquiry immediately. It may be called upon to start the work, if necessary, after the situation is entirely free from the dangers referred to above.

I am sending a copy of this letter to His Excellency the Governor-General, the Hon'ble the Minister of States, and to the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
M.S. Aney

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister of India
New Delhi.

128. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 887/PM

New Delhi
21st June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I understand that you have finally decided to postpone the Constituent Assembly to the middle of October. If that is the final decision we shall naturally function accordingly and fix other dates to fit in with it.

Personally I am rather unhappy about this postponement and I think it will upset a good many things, apart from creating an unfortunate impression in the public mind. Already there have been criticism in the Press.

The Speaker has written some of the difficulties it will cause him in having the Legislative Assembly at an early date. The difficulties are not only personal but much more so in regard to business. Chief Justice Kania also pointed out to me that this delay made it difficult for him to fix upon the Judges of the Federal Court. Until he knew definitely what the terms were for those Judges as finally adopted by the Assembly, he could not make any approaches. He would have liked the Federal Court to function soon under the new order.

There was one other matter which I should like to mention to you. It has become rather important from many points of view for me to visit Europe in the autumn. There is the U.N. General Assembly session in Paris in the third week of September and there is going to be a Prime Ministers' Conference in London in October. I have practically promised to go to the latter and I think it would be desirable for me to go to the U.N. If I go to Europe it would be difficult for me not to visit some other places. I may therefore not be present in India in the middle of

October. I am merely mentioning this for your information and not with a view to your changing any decision which you have finally arrived at.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

129. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
22nd June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received your letter No. 887/PM dated 21st June regarding the postponement of the session of the Constituent Assembly. I am sorry I had to come to that decision as, apart from the view expressed by almost everyone whom I consulted being in favour of postponement, there are certain matters which have to be finalised before we pass the Constitution in its final form. The position of the acceding States is still in a flux and we have to think out how they will fit in our Constitution. We have now several categories of States and groups of States and it is possible that they will have to be dealt with separately and differently. There are some States which are now for all administrative purposes merged in Provinces. The States are separate entities and their rulers also have practically ceased to exist except that the latter will get a certain amount as their privy purse which will be something like pension. There are others who have merged for administrative purposes in the Provinces but the States continue to exist as entities although the rulers will have no administrative powers. We have groups of States which have been formed into unions. Lastly we have certain States which desire to continue as independent units acceding to the Indian Union. We have to think out how to bring in these various categories of States within the framework of our Constitution. It will take a little time not only to think it out but we may have to consult the States and the States Ministry. We are experiencing great difficulties in filling up vacancies which have arisen on account of resignations etc. from the States as the old groupings, on the basis of which the representatives were elected, are no longer in existence. In some cases the representatives were nominees of the rulers and those rulers have now ceased to have any ruling powers and the question arises whether they can now still nominate members to fill vacancies. In some cases vacancies have not occurred but the constituencies which returned the members to the C.A. have ceased to exist either because the group is broken up or because the ruler has ceased to have power. The C.A. Secretariat and the States Ministry have been discussing these questions so that we may have full and proper representation of the States in the

final session of the C.A. and I understand they have come to certain conclusions but they have not yet come up before me. I am told that a conference of the parties concerned is under consideration for settling details of representation of States in the C.A. When all this is settled, elections will have to be held and that also is likely to take time. This has been one of the principal reasons, apart from the representation of individual members which has influenced me in postponing the session. There is another matter also which is of importance but which perhaps we could have settled, if we had decided to hold the session on the 12th July, and that is the question of representation of minorities, particularly the Sikhs, for which a special committee has been appointed. I hope, therefore, you will appreciate how it has not been possible for me to accept your suggestion. I might tell you, however, that I have not yet finally fixed any date in October for the commencement of the session of the C.A. although provisionally I was thinking of 18th October. There will be no practical difficulty in putting it off by a few days more, say, 25th of October. I shall be obliged if you let me know when you expect to return. I need hardly say that we could not go on with the Constituent Assembly in your absence and I will do my best to adjust the date so as not to inconvenience you. As I have said, I shall be obliged if you let me know the date of your return so that I might finally fix the date of the opening session and announce it. I am anxious that the consideration of the Draft should be finished before the end of the year and we shall have full two months if we started about the 25th.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
17 York Road, New Delhi.

130. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
22nd June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd June. I appreciate the difficulties in regard to the States that you have pointed out. I rather doubt however if these difficulties will all be solved by October. I suppose it could have been possible to make suitable provision for this kind of thing.

What has worried me most is the psychological effect in the country of long postponements of the C.A. I have already heard many caustic comments about it from men who count. It is said that we are not serious about constitution-making or any change in our present status. We are happy as we are and intend sticking on in places as long as we can. They find further that making a new Constitution for independent India fades away. However, as you have made your decision,

there is nothing more to be said about it.

It is not possible for me to say when I am likely to go out of India and when I am likely to return. The dates for the Premiers' Conference have not been fixed yet. The U.N. Assembly lasts from the 4th week of September to at least the end of October and possibly more. I do not of course intend staying for the whole of the session of the U.N. Assembly. But if I go, I should like to visit it for a week or ten days, attend the Premiers' Conference in London and pay a number of other rather important visits in Europe. Vaguely I was thinking of being away for the whole of October. I would not like you to postpone the C.A. even for a week or two more to suit my convenience. My part in it is not very important and in any event important work ought not to be held up because of any individual's convenience.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

131. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
22nd June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

There are two accounts opened by Bapu and operated upon by him without any authority to anyone else to operate upon them. One is with the United Commercial Bank Ltd., New Delhi, known as 'Mahatma M.K. Gandhi (Agency Account), Birla House, New Delhi', with a credit balance of about Rs.1,45,000 and the other with the Central Bank of India, Patna, known as 'Gandhi Amanat Nidhi, C/o Hon'ble Dr. Mahmud, Bankipore, Patna', with a credit balance of about Rs.23,000. Sj. Chimanlal Shah who, as you know, has been operating upon all the accounts of Bapu, as the manager of the Sevagram Ashram, is approaching the banks to allow him to operate on these accounts also. It is understood that the banks will accept this request, if it is recommended by you or by me. Sj. Jajuji has asked me to give the recommendation and has told me that it is necessary to have the accounts transferred for facility of operation when required but the expenditure will be subject to your sanction. I shall be obliged if you let me know whether I should ask the banks to transfer the latter account to be operated upon by Sj. Chimanlal Shah. Personally I do not see any objection but I am awaiting your instructions.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Circuit House, Dehra Dun.

132. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
22 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I arrived here quite comfortably and have been keeping well since my arrival. On the 20th just when Rajaji's plane was being awaited at Palam aerodrome, we had clouds and a few drops of rain—but the temperature cooled down considerably. Since then we have had somewhat cooler temperature and now and then clouds and strong breeze. I hope within the next few days this place will become quite comfortable—as comfortable as it is during the rainy season.

We are having a meeting of the Working Committee on 1 and 2 July. There are some important matters coming up for discussion. One important item as usual will be the situation in the country in which the members will like to have as full information as possible about Kashmir, Hyderabad, etc., and will also probably express themselves about the latter. I have received a letter from Maulana Sahib today in which he says that in U.P. and C.P. Urdu is being abolished from schools and he wants the matter to be considered by the Working Committee or the Parliamentary Board. Vinobaji met me this morning. He is going the day after tomorrow to the place where Meos are living. Some of them saw me yesterday. They were from Gurgaon and their complaint was that they had been carrying the burden of the Meos of Alwar and Bharatpur and were no longer able with their limited resources to keep them with them. I had a talk with Sjt. Mohanlal. Sjt. Vinoba's idea is that those Meos who did not go to Pakistan, and who have all along remained here—but not in their original homes—should be given back their homes and lands. They are entitled to them. Bapu visited the place, asked them not to migrate and promised to them that they would be given their lands and homes. That promise should be honoured. If for any reason the Government is not able to restore them to their homes and lands at present, a definite promise should be made that they would be given back their lands later or an equivalent quantity of other land. There is an attempt being made to move the Kurukshetra refugees to those places in Alwar and Bharatpur and to settle them on Meos' lands. But these refugees are not willing to go there. So the result is that those to whom the land belongs are not allowed to occupy it and cultivate it, while others to whom it is being offered are not willing to take it and the land remains uncultivated and the promise made by Bapu is dishonoured. This is most unsatisfactory. If Government is not in a position to make the promise as suggested above, he wants the Congress and me as the Congress President to do so. Mohanlalji told me that there were difficulties, and there are certain papers from which it appears that you are opposed to this policy, and he feels he cannot do anything unless the policy is changed or revised. I hear, although I cannot vouch for it, Sheikh Abdullah, who has been here, visited the place and, on being approached by the Meos, told them that the land was theirs and they should do

satyagraha for it. So it seems complications are mounting. Vinobaji is going there day after tomorrow and is sure to meet the Meos who will seek his advice, and he proposes to tell them that Babu's promise should be fulfilled by the Government.

I do not know when you propose returning. I hope the progress in your health is being maintained. If possible, I would like you to be back before the Working Committee meets on the 1st so that we might have the benefit of your presence.

I saw Kripalaniji today. He was very much upset by the Hyderabad affairs. I met Dr. Ambedkar yesterday. He says that our Government has failed in its policy of price control which it is unable to enforce. It has got unnecessarily involved in Kashmir which, he thinks, really belongs to Pakistan. It has failed to tackle Hyderabad which belongs to it. He is disgusted with the appointment of Asaf Ali. He told me that he had earned a very bad reputation in America and even [President] Truman was cognisant of all this. His appointment will mean to the highly placed Americans that in India private life and character have no value. This is bound to degrade us in their eyes.

I have fixed the Constituent Assembly sometime after the middle of October, although I have not announced the exact date. Pandit Jawaharlal is very sorry about it and has written to me that since I have the authority he will act according to my decision but he is unhappy. Chief Justice Kania has complained to him that on account of the uncertainty of the position by reason of the Constitution not being passed, he is unable to fix upon new judges for the Federal Court. He says that Sjt. Mavalankar also does not like the postponement. All those whom I have met, however, like the postponement and have expressed their satisfaction. Lord Mountbatten was very pleased with it.

I have passed on to you all these bits of news and views for what they are worth. I hope you are well and will be here in time for the Working Committee. A line in reply will be much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

133. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*

I Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
23rd June 1948

My dear Pantji,

I have received a letter from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad which is in Urdu. I have got it written in Hindi and am enclosing a copy. The matter will come up before the Congress Working Committee in its meeting. I shall be obliged for

your kindly letting me know what is the actual position regarding Urdu to enable the W.C. to consider it. I hope that you are coming for the meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Lucknow.

Enclosure not included.

134. *To Baldev Singh*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
23rd June 1948

My dear Sardar Baldev Singhji,

I desire to draw your attention to what appears to be an anomaly in the Defence Services in the terms offered to Emergency Indian Commissioned Officers of the same rank in various arms of army service. There is a great difference between the terms given to medical corps (IAMC) and other army (non-technical) officers. The IAMC officers have better and additional qualifications than the officers of other arms but they draw lesser emoluments than other arms during emergency. They are offered little chance of Permanent Commission whereas Permanent Commission is virtually thrown to other arms. Retirement terms also are disadvantageous as compared to other arms. There is also discrimination between Indian and British (Anglo-Indian) cadre of IMD now called IAMC-Special Medical Section Combined Cadre. Although the cadre is combined and they do the same jobs but the difference between Indians and others in the matter of emoluments continues. I am not familiar with all the details but I have gathered information which is contained in the table and short statement which I am enclosing.* As the matter affects a pretty large body of persons in the armed forces, it requires looking into. I do not think it has escaped your attention but I am writing to you in the hope that it will be looked into soon so that the just grievances may be removed. If I could get an opportunity, I would gladly talk the matter over with you whenever it suits you.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Defence Minister, Government of India
New Delhi.

*Not included.

135. *To Ravi Shankar Shukla*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
23rd June 1948

My dear Shuklaji,

Attached herewith I am sending you a letter which I have received from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The original letter is in Urdu and I have got it written in Devnagari script. As the matter will be taken up by the Working Committee of the Congress at its meeting fixed for the first of July, I shall be obliged for your kindly letting me know what is the actual position regarding Urdu.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla
Premier of C.P. & Berar
Nagpur.

Enclosure not included.

136. *From Ghansham Singh Gupta*

Drug
23 June 1948

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 13th May 1948 regarding the preparation of 'authoritative equivalents to administrative, legal and constitutional terms in use in the offices of the Central Government', I may submit that the glossary of the terms used in the Draft Constitution has been prepared and shall either be appended to the Hindi Draft Constitution or be supplied separately to the members of the public at the time the said draft is released for publication. But I am afraid that the said glossary will be of only limited use, and that it will not solve the problem of collecting or coining Hindi terms that will be necessary in the entire Governmental process when English is replaced by Hindi in the Central Secretariat and the Law Courts. My Committee would be willing to undertake the work of compiling an exhaustive glossary of all terms in use or likely to be used in the entire Governmental process. This work, in a way, has already been started. To expedite the work a small staff of four or five persons would be required. Owing to Dr. Raghuwira's headquarters being at Nagpur which is the

seat of my Assembly also, it would be convenient and less expensive to do the work there.

A formal direction be kindly sent to me to do the work.

Yours sincerely,
Ghansham Singh Gupta
Speaker, C.P. & Berar Legislative Assembly

The Hon'ble the President
Constituent Assembly of India
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

137. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Dehra Dun
24 June 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Many thanks for your letter of the 22nd June 1948. I am very anxious to return to Delhi, but I am afraid I may not be able to attend the Working Committee meeting on the 1st and 2nd July. According to medical advice it may yet be too early for me to come down. Until Delhi has had rains, my coming down might mean a setback to my health which, I am sure you will agree, should be avoided, particularly now that after so much rest and so many restrictions and so much regulated life I am just regaining my normal health.

As regards the question of Meos, our enquiries in Alwar and Bharatpur have confirmed that the Meo rising of March-May last year was a well-organised attempt on the part of these Meos to create a disturbance in support of the League's demand for Pakistan. The rising had been inspired by League leaders who had done intensive propaganda for it and had arranged for the supply of arms, ammunition, etc., probably as part of their Direct Action programme. Apart from this, feuds between Meos and Ahirs and Jats of this area are of long standing and have created bitterness and animosity which it is impossible for you or me at this distance to appreciate or even to appraise. Both Alwar and Bharatpur are already in a ferment. Rajputs and Jats are considerably agitated not only in these States but in the rest of Rajputana as well. In fact, the situation is very much like a powder magazine which a single spark may set ablaze. To oust non-Muslims settled in these lands by bringing in Muslims would act as such a spark. I for one am not prepared to shoulder responsibility for such an action. Moreover, in the prevailing atmosphere engendered by developments in Kashmir and Hyderabad and in the face of Pakistan's inability to accept a single

non-Muslim back it would be a folly and a disaster to settle Meos in the midst of such dangerous elements. If Sheikh Sahib, according to you, advised them to launch satyagraha and Maulana Sahib, who would like these Meos to be settled even in the teeth of local bitterness and opposition, are prepared to shoulder the responsibility, they are at liberty to do so. I am not aware of any promise which Gandhiji made. I am sure he could not have given any promise about resettlement of Meos in the States. I had long talks with him on this question and our policy then was not to interfere with internal administration of the States. It was only after his murder that we dared to interfere in these States. It was for all these reasons that we decided that Meos should not be allowed to return to Alwar and Bharatpur; instead, they should be given lands in Gurgaon District vacated by Meos who have gone to Pakistan and non-Muslim refugees from Pakistan should be settled in Alwar and Bharatpur States. I still feel that this is the only policy that can be adopted with safety in present circumstances and I have no hesitation in saying that any other policy might well result in a disaster similar to the one which cost us Gandhiji's precious life.

I see no reason why there should be any hurry about this matter and I do not appreciate the reason why this matter should come before the Working Committee. I have given you my views. If you still feel that this matter should come before the Working Committee and it should pass any resolution on this subject contrary to this policy, I would advise postponement of consideration of this question till the next meeting. In my view priority is to be given to the question of resettlement of refugees. If however postponement is not considered possible and any decision to reverse the existing policy is taken, I am afraid I will have no alternative but to resign from the Working Committee.

Regarding other matters such as Kashmir and Hyderabad and the question of Urdu in the U.P. and Dr. Ambedkar's views, I shall write to you later.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

138. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
24th June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd instant regarding the Constituent Assembly. As I said, I have not yet finally fixed the date for the opening session of

the Constituent Assembly in October and do not propose to announce the date until the position becomes clarified and the date of your return may be ascertainable.

You say in your letter that you would not like the C.A. to be postponed even for a week or two to suit your convenience as any public work ought not to be held up because of an individual's convenience. But you are not an individual. You are our Prime Minister and you will be away on public duty. We cannot but take this matter into consideration in fixing the date.

As regards the criticism to which you refer, we have sometimes to expose ourselves and submit to such unfounded criticism. Our mind and conscience is clear that we are not postponing the session because we want to stick to our places or because we are not keen about having a Constitution of our own but for other reasons. I have also seen somewhere the allegation that the postponement has been arranged to enable the negotiations about the relation of India with Great Britain to be finalised. I am sure, this is as unfounded as the allegation that our Government is carrying on secret negotiations with the United Kingdom. If people want to attribute motives and misinterpret our actions, we cannot simply help it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
17 York Road, New Delhi.

139. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Dehra Dun
24 June 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Jairamdas reminds me today that no reply has been received from Dewan Chamanlal as yet nor has any other arrangement been made for his election from any Province. His period will expire in a fortnight's time. Please see that something is done in the matter before that time.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

140. *To Hiralal Bose*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
24th June 1948

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter dated the 16th June, 1948. I have improved in health and have returned to Delhi. I propose staying here. You can certainly meet me about the time of the Working Committee. It is only about a week hence. We can talk over the matter of Chairmanship of the Pacifist Meeting when you are here. I do not feel like taking up this responsibility and honour and therefore I am not returning the letters signed by me.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sj. Hiralal Bose
World Pacifist Meeting
1 Upper Wood Street, Calcutta-16.

141. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Dehra Dun
24 June 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Many thanks for your letter of 22 June 1948 regarding the two accounts opened by Bapu and operated by him without any authority to anyone else to operate them. I have spoken to Ghanshyamdas regarding the account with the United Commercial Bank, New Delhi. He will make enquiries and let us know what is to be done.

I do not see how you or I come in. It has nothing to do with Congress accounts and I fail to understand why our recommendation should be needed.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

142. *To Abul Kalam Azad*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
25th June 1948

My dear Maulana Saheb,

When I was in Dehra Dun, S. J. Indra Vidyavachaspati, Vice-Chancellor of the Gurukul Vishwavidyalaya, Kangri, saw me and asked me to plead with the Government of India for a suitable grant to the Gurukul Vishwavidyalaya, Kangri. This institution was started some 48 years ago and has been carrying on educational work in its own way without any assistance from the Government. It was one of its principles not to ask for or take any aid from the Government because it was a foreign Government. That was the view taken by all national universities. Since we took over government, all this changed and they applied for aid. That application has remained pending for more than one and a half years. There can be no doubt that if there is any national institution in the country which deserves aid from the present national Government, it is this university. I hope the matter will receive your early attention and something will be done for it. I am writing this because I understand that he has sent a fresh representation to you.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Education Minister of India
New Delhi.

143. *To M.S. Aney*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
25th June 1948

My dear Bapuji Aney,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 21st June with which you have enclosed copy of a letter addressed to the Hon'ble Prime Minister of India. If you permit me, I may refer, if not the letter, at least the contents, to the Commission which has been appointed to go into the question of creation of new Provinces. The terms of reference of the Commission are wide enough to enable them to say that no new Provinces should be created and they are not precluded from considering

the points raised in the letter but I could let the letter go to them only with your permission as it is marked 'Secret and Confidential'.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

His Excellency Shri M.S. Aney
Governor of Bihar
Patna.

144. *To Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
25th June 1948

My dear Dr. Syama Prasad,

I have received your letter dated 20th June suggesting that the Commission appointed to examine the question of creation of some new Provinces should also take up the question of readjustment of provincial boundaries between Bihar and West Bengal. I am afraid, I cannot agree with you as regards the interpretation of the recommendation made by the Drafting Committee. To my mind it is clear from paragraph 20 read with the footnote to Part I of the 1st Schedule that the enquiry suggested by the Commission to be appointed is with a view to finding out if new States are to be created which may have to be mentioned in that Schedule. I do not think the Committee contemplated revision of boundaries of existing Provinces. I am sorry, therefore, that I am not able to extend the scope of the enquiry by the Commission.

As regards the bitterness which is being created on account of the controversy that is going on, I am not less perturbed than you are at the way in which tension has been increasing. I do not know where it will end.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry and Supply
New Delhi.

145. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
25th June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just received your letter dated the 24th reminding that no reply has been

received from Dewan Chamanlal. I may tell you that a cable has been received today by the Constituent Assembly office from Dewan Chamanlal that he is sending his resignation by air mail. I am going to take further steps in the matter. As Dr. Gopichand is here today and I hope to meet him, I shall fix up the matter with him. I may tell you also that Shri Bhabha was here and I also mentioned the matter to him as Dewan Chamanlal's cable had not been received then. He offered to let me have his resignation after seeing you tomorrow. It is not necessary now.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Circuit House, Dehra Dun.

146. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Staff Qrs. No. 1
Ranchi
C/o The Postmaster, Ranchi
The 25th June 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I posted to you yesterday a registered cover containing a letter and some enclosures. I hope they will reach you in due course, and that your health will permit you to reply to me on the points mentioned in them. I am enclosing today a letter I received from Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta. I promised to forward his letter to you, and I am doing so accordingly; but I told him that in my opinion, if I understood him aright, his suggestion was not a practicable one, as Eastern Pakistan and West Bengal are not only two separate Provinces but units of two independent sovereign states. I am also enclosing a cutting from this morning's *Hindusthan Standard** about a deputation of West Bengal members waiting on you to get you to do this, that and the other. I am giving you the information, in case you may miss it otherwise.

For the first time since my arrival at Ranchi on the 7th, I had the privilege of meeting, for half-an-hour only, only one of our nine Ministers, Krishna Ballabh Sahay, who kindly gave me half-an-hour's time in connection with the memorandum I am preparing. He said, he had not a moment to spare for anything in this world, because he was also the chief propagandist of the Congress party in Bihar. He said he would return here on the 29th, by which time I should be able to submit to him a copy of my Memorandum. I loyally promised to do so, and I hope I may succeed in my effort. Just about that time I hope to send you also a copy of it for your suggestions and approval.

Hoping to hear from you and trusting all well, I remain, with blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

*Not included.

Enclosure:

(A letter from Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta to Dr. Saehchidananda Sinha)

P-93 Manoharpukur Road
Calcutta
June 22, 1948

Dear Dr. Sinha,

Thanks for your very kind note. I am glad that you liked my paper and my article on the Draft Constitution.

This article I wrote in a hurry as I was informed that the matter would be discussed in the Assembly much earlier. For that reason as well as for limitation of space I could not deal in detail with every part. May I tell you what I feel about one matter in particular.

The Draft envisages a strong centralised government and cuts down the powers of Provinces to a minimum. We in Bengal have felt how cramped the Government of Bengal felt in the past on account of its limited powers and more limited finances. I think strongly that in a country like India where each Province with a culture and with problems arising out of its physical features [is] very different from others, Provinces have got to be as free and autonomous as is consistent with the unity of the Federation.

One particular matter I am somewhat keen about. Provinces can have no external relations under the Draft. That was not much of a problem in the past, but now with West Bengal living in close proximity [of] and constant many-sided intercourse with Eastern Bengal will constantly need to have arrangements with the latter in order to run smoothly. It is essential therefore that Bengal should have as much liberty to enter into agreements directly with Eastern Bengal as for instance Canada has in respect of U.S.A. There ought therefore to be an appropriate provision in the Constitution by which any Province should be able to enter into agreements affecting provincial matters with a neighbouring state. I believe such a formula would be useful, not only to West Bengal but also to Assam in relation to East Bengal and Burma and East Punjab in relation to West Punjab.

The recent conferences between the governments of West and East Bengal have been so beneficial that I am sure it would be recognised that the powers of

the Provinces to have a limited scope of external relations would be acceptable to all. Without it complications are bound to arise and red tape will be multiplied.

I hope this proposal will meet with your approval.

It is odd that most people like you do not know that I am almost one-third a Behari. I spent several years of my school life at Motihari and Monghyr and passed my Entrance Examination from the Monghyr Zilla School with my friend poor Dr. Abdul Majid.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
N.C. Sen Gupta

147. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

25th June 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I have advisedly avoided writing to you till now, because you were not in your normal health, and I did not like to disturb you until you had returned to Delhi. I have to write to you a great deal about various important matters; but I am sending to you my first letter today in regard to two particular matters. The first is the printed cutting from the *Indian Nation* of a telegram said to have been sent from New Delhi, on the 20th, by some new Press Agency, called 'Hind Barta'. It has not been published in *The Searchlight*, because the latter paper may not be subscribing to that Press Agency. Nor have I seen it in any other paper. Anyway, the publication of the sensational news has created quite an excitement in many circles in Bihar, as you can well understand. Personally, I do not believe that there is any truth in it, or any foundation for the news it contains, for the simple reason that a Government which is going to divide the country on linguistic grounds cannot be, consistently with that policy, in favour of reuniting such divergent areas as West Bengal and Bihar, but as the excitement is likely to grow, I have thought it my duty to send it on to you so that, if necessary, you may kindly show it to the Prime Minister, and if he thinks it desirable to do so, a communique may be issued on the subject contradicting the news.

The second document I am enclosing is a letter which I have received from Baldeo Babu, which is not signed by him as he is (you know very well) a young man in a hurry, though now of 55! He is staying with Krishna Ballabh and ostensibly for rest and change, but he is making money daily in consultations. That is why he failed to sign the letter, but that does not matter in the least. I think the matter he has dealt with is of sufficient importance to be brought by me to your notice. You will kindly tell me, in reply to this letter, what it is necessary to be done in regard to the points mentioned by him in his letter.

Lastly, I hope to send you on Monday next the draft Memorandum which I have been preparing on the Bengal-Bihar question. The general portions are now

nearly ready, and I hope to post them to you on Monday, in a registered cover. The details in regard to each particular area will follow in due course.

Trusting all well and hoping to hear from you in due course and to hear of your restoration to normal health, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Ever yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

Enclosures not included.

148. *To Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
26th June 1948

My dear Dr. Roy,

I have received a letter from Mr. J.C. Gupta in which he draws my attention to the fact that a vacancy in the Constituent Assembly caused by the resignation of a scheduled caste member was filled up by getting Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee elected and that scheduled caste members are nursing a grievance on that account. You will recollect that at the time when Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee had to be elected to enable him to continue in the Central Government, I made it a point that as soon as a vacancy had fallen, a scheduled caste member should be elected in the place and according to your own suggestion it was to be arranged that Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen who is a member of the Constituent Assembly but had then been appointed a Minister should vacate his seat in the Constituent Assembly which should be given to a member of the scheduled caste. For some reason or other Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen has not thought it fit to resign his seat in the Constituent Assembly and I feel that the scheduled caste members are justified in making a grievance that a seat belonging to them has been taken away. Now when Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen has been elected to the Legislative Assembly and there is no fear of his losing his seat in the Cabinet on account of not being elected to the Provincial Assembly, I think it is only fair that he should be asked to resign from the Constituent Assembly and the consequent vacancy should be filled up by a member of the scheduled caste. Sj. J.C. Gupta's letter contains a paragraph which runs as follows:

The delay in including the scheduled caste Ministers after they acceded to the request of Sri Satyanarayan Sinha and Dr. Roy who assured them is another matter agitating the scheduled caste members. It is said they did their part and you have turned it down and Dr. Roy has again requested you to reconsider.

I am somewhat intrigued to read this. I am not aware of any arrangement which may have been made by Sj. Satyanarayan Sinha and you with the scheduled caste Ministers. On the other hand I believe you assured me to the contrary. So there was no question of their doing their part and you not being able to fulfil your part on account of my turning down your proposal. I shall be obliged for your comments.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy
Calcutta.

149. *To Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
26th June 1948

My dear Dr. Roy,

I have seen in papers that Sj. Prabhudayal Himatsingka and Rai Bahadur Gurung have been elected to fill up the vacancies caused by the death of Sj. Devi Prasad Khaitan and Sj. Dumber Singh Gurung. I have also seen a report that Sj. Prafulla Chandra Sen has been elected to the West Bengal Provincial Legislative Assembly. I do not remember to have received any intimation about the selection of candidates for these vacancies. The ordinary practice in all Provinces has been to obtain the final sanction of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee or of the President of the Congress for nomination of candidates for election to the Provincial Legislatures or to the Constituent Assembly. This rule has been followed also in regard to the appointment of Ministers. But for some reason or other I get information about these things through newspapers so far as West Bengal is concerned. I am writing to the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee about this matter. If our rules are not observed, work becomes difficult and discipline in the Congress organisation is damaged, if not destroyed. It was for this reason that I wrote to you complaining when one Ministry was broken up and another was appointed in its place and also when an additional Minister was appointed without reference to the A.I.C.C. You were good enough to explain the situation but I find that another occasion has arisen when the rules have not been observed.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy
Prime Minister, West Bengal.

have them, although the people there, particularly the Bania class, did not object to their going back. East Punjab also would like not to have them and if possible even to get rid of those who are still there. So, there the matter stands.

Vinobaji gave me another information which I did not know. He said that more than 20,000 Meos are said to have been converted to Hinduism last year within the States. They were allowed to remain there with their houses and lands as they had become Hindus. They are still there but now they say that they are Mussalmans and that their conversion was under coercion. I am told, there is an agreement between the Indian and Pakistan Governments which was reached at the instance of the Government of India that no conversion made during the disturbed period should be recognised. So it seems a good number of Meos will be there, even if those who are now in Gurgaon are not sent back. In today's *Hindustan Times* I see a report of the speech delivered by him at the weekly prayer meeting at Rajghat.

When are you coming? We shall fix the Working Committee meeting according to your convenience and so it is necessary to know the probable date of your return. I understand that you may be back about the first week of July. In that case perhaps a date about 12th or 15th July might suit you for W.C. meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

151. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
26th June 1948

My dear Pantji,

I am enclosing herewith copy of a letter which I have received. It is a complaint against the way in which money is alleged to have been realised for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. It mentions a particular instance and you might have the matter looked into.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Prime Minister, Govt. of U.P.
Lucknow.

Enclosure not included.

152. From Dr. Lanka Sundaram

'Pavani Kutir'
Maharanipet P.O.
Vizagapatam
26th June 1948

Dear Rajendra Prasadji,

At the insistence of numerous friends in and outside the Andhra Desh, I bring to your notice the fact that I am filing my nomination papers for election to the Constituent Assembly, in one of the three places left vacant by the resignation of the Andhra Ministers of the Madras Ministry.

May I venture to hope that you would make it possible for me to contest this election, in the light of what I state below?

Recently I had completed a two-thousand mile political tour of Andhra Desh, including the Nizam borders in these parts, and I had the opportunity of visiting all the principal places and of receiving tokens of Andhra esteem towards me, including a civic address by the Municipal Committee of Bezwada, our premier city. My long-cherished plans of resettling in these parts have been completed with my *griha pravesh* here, where, earlier, I had left enduring contacts, e.g. in the Andhra University, in the labour field and in Harijan work (including the temple which I built for Harijans and which Gandhiji opened in 1933). I hope fully to participate in the public life of these parts in the future, with my own journal and publications section located in Vizagapatam.

I venture to submit that I have the equipment and experience necessary for me to aspire for a place in the Constituent Assembly. I had always been a Congressman and nationalist, who put the country and the people above all else. My public life began very early in my life, with the Secretaryship of the Ceylon Indian Deputation to the British Colonial Office in connection with the Donoughmore Reforms of 1930. In 1935 I led the Burma Indian Labour Deputation to the Government of India. In between these years, I had investigated personally the conditions of Indians, particularly the workers, in Ceylon, Malaya, Siam, Indo-China and Burma, and I look back with satisfaction to the near-twenty years' work I had completed on behalf of Indians overseas. I took a fulsome part in the trade union movement of these parts, and the unions I had built up in the 30s are still functioning with credit. My Harijan work is for me a cherished link with Andhra Desh. When I was invited to join the Indian Delegations to the General Assembly and the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, 1946-47, I felt that this phase of my public work had reached its culmination.

I feel I should record here with brevity some indications of my special competence as investigator and exponent, both with the written and spoken words, in certain specialised fields of knowledge. Apart from being an M.A., Ph.D. (London), I was about the only Indian so far given a scholarship of The Hague Academy of International Law (1930), and a *collaborateur* of the League of

Nations (1931). Even in those days, I addressed the Grotius Society, London, which is considered to be a very rare honour from the foremost society of international law. I had fellowships from several Royal Societies and Academies, and last year I was made an honorary life member of the Yale University Union. My published works include, besides numerous technical papers in well-known international journals, the following books: *India in World Politics*; *Nationalism and Self-Sufficiency*; *A Secular State for India*; *India's Armies and their Costs*; *Union Finances*; *Mughal Land Revenue System*; *Indians Overseas*; *Cow-Protection in India*, etc., etc.

I feel I have recorded here enough data to convince you and your colleagues of my special competence to seek the franchise of the Madras Legislature to the Constituent Assembly, and I shall feel grateful if you can make this possible.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Lanka Sundaram

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
New Delhi.

153. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
28 June 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am enclosing herewith copy of a resolution passed by the General Body of the Central Relief Committee. I hope you will kindly arrange to remit a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 as Shri Sucheta Devi tells me that she has no money left with her. I may add for your information that steps have been taken and we hope to get back from the Government the amount now being invested in building houses for refugees.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Circuit House, Dehra Dun.

Enclosure not included.

154. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 28th June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

During my visit to Burma, I discovered that there is a great deal of goodwill on account of cultural relationship with that country which could be canalised. It would, I believe, help in settling many ticklish problems which arise between them and us. Vikkhu Jagdish Kashyap, who is a Buddhist Vikkhu and who accompanied me with the sapling of the Bodhi tree, has recently been to Burma where he had conversations with leading Buddhists, about establishing some sort of a cultural institution. I do not know if our Embassy there can help or if our Government can undertake the opening and maintenance of such an institute. Its importance or necessity cannot be questioned but whether this work should be done by an unofficial organisation or whether the Government could do it is the only question. I think this question should be considered and decision taken on this point. We require such institutions—or perhaps 'missions' should be a better expression—not only in Burma but in all Buddhist countries towards the east, south-east and north-east of India.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
17 York Road, New Delhi.

155. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 28th June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

We are going to have a meeting of the Working Committee on the 1st July at 8 a.m. at 7 Jantar Mantar Road, the new house which the A.I.C.C. has now occupied. On the agenda we have mentioned quite a number of items but they are more or less concerned with the Congress organisation. The members would, however, like to place before you certain matters about which there is a great deal of feeling in the country. I might mention, amongst these, the question of

- (1) high prices of food and also of cloth and repercussion of these high prices on the general life of the people;

- (2) general deterioration in the efficiency of administration, particularly corruption;
- (3) transport difficulties and bottleneck;
- (4) the situation with regard to relief and rehabilitation of emigrants from Pakistan; and
- (5) the situation of Hyderabad and Kashmir.

These have not been included in the agenda but we would like to have some information and the viewpoint of the Government explained and what is proposed to be done to meet the situation which is becoming complicated day by day. I am writing this to you so that if you do not feel any embarrassment, you might give the members an opportunity of having a statement from you or from any other Minister concerned with any particular department, who would be welcome to our meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road, New Delhi.

156. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
28 June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th June about the meeting of the Working Committee.

I think it would be desirable for you to invite the respective Ministers when points concerning them are being discussed by the Working Committee. For instance, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram and Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee might be invited in regard to the high prices of food and cloth. Dr. Mathai might be invited in regard to transport difficulties and Shri Mohanlal Saksena regarding relief and rehabilitation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

157. *To Ghansham Singh Gupta*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
29 June 1948

My dear Shri Ghansham Singhji,

Many thanks for your letter dated 23-6-48.

I think I cannot appoint any Committee at this stage for preparing a glossary of administrative and legal terms used in Government offices and give authoritative Hindi equivalents for them. Very much will depend upon the view that the Constituent Assembly takes of the 3 translations which have been prepared of the Draft Constitution. The Urdu translation has been prepared and printed. The Hindustani translation is almost ready and I am considering the question of its printing. I hope the Hindi translation has been also printed by now. The expressions used in these three versions may be considered by the Constituent Assembly and the equivalents of other terms will naturally have to be more or less of the same sort as those used in the Constitution.

I hope the Hindi copy will be available soon and I shall be obliged if you send the copy soon so that it may be circulated. Pandit Jawaharlalji had seen some portions of the translation and was telling me that he did not understand a word of it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble G.S. Gupta
Speaker, C.P. & Berar Legislative Assembly
Nagpur.

158. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
29 June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received a letter from Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, with which he has sent me a cutting, which I am enclosing. He writes: "But as the excitement is likely to grow, I have thought it my duty to send it on to you, so that, if necessary, you may kindly show it to the Prime Minister, and if he thinks it desirable to do so, a communique may be issued on the subject contradicting the news." I am not aware of any proposal of amalgamating the two Provinces of Bihar and West Bengal to be renamed 'Bihar Bengal'. I shall be obliged if you please let me know if any such proposal has come to your knowledge or has been discussed even informally by Members of the Cabinet. You will, of course, consider the

suggestion made by Dr. Sinha regarding issuing a communique. I do not consider it worth noticing in a communique.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

159. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
29 June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

As I have written to you, you can request any of the Ministers of Government here to come to the Working Committee meeting to discuss their special subjects. I mentioned specially four names: Jairamdas and Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Mathai and Mohanlal Saksena. I think Neogy might also be added as he has been the Relief Minister.

I suggest that you might fix up the time with these Ministers direct. Perhaps it would be better not to ask the whole lot to come as they deal with separate subjects. My own suggestion would be that the morning of the 1st be kept free for the Working Committee only to discuss some of these subjects amongst ourselves. Some Ministers might be invited in the afternoon of the 1st and some possibly on the second. I understand that Syama Prasad Mookerjee will not be present in Delhi on the 2nd.

I might inform you that we have got a Cabinet meeting on the 1st at 11 a.m. on a rather urgent matter. So Maulana and I will have to leave a little before 11.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

160. *To Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
29th June 1948

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your two letters.

I have seen Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta's letter and note that you told him

that it would not be possible to allow Provinces to have relations—trade, commercial and other—with any other sovereign state which Pakistan is. I agree with you on this point. As a matter of fact the feeling among many members is that the Centre should be given more power than is envisaged by the Draft Constitution. I know there is another school of thought, to which Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta belongs, which wants more power for the Provinces. There is really no analogy between Canada's relation with U.S.A. and that suggested for West and East Bengal. Canada is an independent country in the sense in which India and Pakistan are independent countries. So the relation can be only between India and Pakistan. I am not aware that any Province of Canada, as distinguished from the Dominion of Canada, can have any relation with U.S. or with any independent country.

I am recipient of numerous letters, telegrams and resolutions suggesting that I should extend the scope of the Commission which I have appointed so as to include the question of redrawing of the boundary line between Bengal and Bihar. The deputation, which the cutting from *The Hindusthan Standard* that you have sent envisages, will also put forward a similar demand. I am clear in my mind that the scope of the Commission cannot be extended. . . . Baldeo Babu's note is quite right in emphasising that the recommendation of the Drafting Committee cannot be interpreted to bring the inclusion of redrawing of boundaries between the existing Provinces within the scope of the enquiry that is suggested there. I have taken the same line in my replies and I have no doubt in my mind that that is a correct position. Under the original recommendation boundaries of a unit could be altered with the consent of the Legislature of the Province concerned. Under the Draft the views of the Legislature of the State have to be ascertained. I think the best course is for a member of the Constituent Assembly to raise this point by way of an amendment and notice of this should be given in time so that the Drafting Committee may consider it. It has already had to deal with something like 400 to 500 amendments and suggestions which have been made.

As regards the item of news reproduced by the *Indian Nation* from 'Hind Barta', I am not aware of any such move. But, to make sure, I am referring the matter to the Prime Minister and will write to you, if there is any foundation for it.

Yours affectionately,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha
Staff Qrs. No. 1
C/o The Postmaster, Ranchi
Ranchi:

161. *To Dr. Lanka Sundaram*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
29 June 1948

Dear Dr. Lanka Sundaram,

I have received your letter dated the 26th June 1948.

I know your qualifications having read some of your publications and I have also met you more than once. So far as I am personally concerned there should be no difficulty on my part in accepting your candidature for a seat in the Constituent Assembly. The procedure, however, is that the Provincial Congress Assembly Party nominates a candidate on behalf of the Congress Party and the name so recommended comes to the Parliamentary Board or President of the Congress for final sanction. You have, therefore, to approach the Party there and have your name sent up and, as I have said, there will be no difficulty so far as I am concerned. I might mention to you one snag, however. The Congress Party here in the Delhi Assembly has, however, sent a directive to the Provincial Parties to give preference in case of vacancies to members of the last Legislative Assembly, who now for some reason or other are not members of the Constituent Assembly. I do not know if there are any ex-members of the old Legislative Assembly who under this directive can get preference. But I suppose this is a matter which has to be tackled locally.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

162. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Dehra Dun
30th June 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

I received your letter of the 28th instant this morning and as desired by you am enclosing a cheque for a lac of rupees herewith.

2. I have seen the copy of the resolution passed by the General Body of the Central Relief Committee on the 22nd June 1948 which was attached with your letter, but it is not intelligible to me and, therefore, I would like to see the statement of accounts referred to therein.

3. I have received your letter of the 26th June and I am glad that no important decisions are to be taken in the next Working Committee meeting. I propose to return to Delhi by the end of the first week of July.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

163. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Calcutta
30th June 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Your two letters of 26th instant.

2. I refer first to your letter regarding elections. With regard to the election of Sri Prabhudayal Himatsingka and Hari Bahadur Gurung to the Constituent Assembly in the vacancies caused by the death of Sri D.P. Khaitan and S.J. Dumber Singh Gurung, all I have to say is that the matter was placed before the Congress Assembly Party, as it is they who are primarily interested in giving votes, and after discussion they selected these two candidates unanimously. In this meeting Sreejut J.C. Gupta and the members of the group with whom he works were also present.

3. With regard to the question of informing the Parliamentary Board regarding the selection of candidates for these two vacancies, I desire to say that I had spoken about them to the President and the Secretary of the B.P.C.C., and I thought they had given you the necessary intimation. As regards Sri Prafulla Chandra Sen, I write to let you know that S.J. S.M. Ghosh and S.J. Kalipada Mukherjee and myself unanimously selected him for the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sri Sukumar Datta. As you can easily understand, the present Ministers who are not members of the Assembly have to be returned before the 22nd of July, and we are naturally anxious to get them elected as soon as possible. I concede at once that the rules should be ordinarily followed but situations arise in the Province when any previous consultation with the Centre to obtain their approval may be impracticable or even unwise—so in the matter of by-elections it may be difficult always to follow the rules. I suggest that there should be an understanding that in cases of by-elections, if the local Congress Committee and the B.P.C.C. agree on any nomination the approval of the Centre might be taken for granted. I am constrained to say, however, that in these matters the Parliamentary Sub-Committee or the President of the Congress do not give us such help. I had spoken to you on several occasions about my four Ministers whom I have chosen and who are not members of the Assembly. I had also occasion to point to you that it was not possible for me to ask any member of the Party to vacate his seat in order to enable these Ministers to get elected. It is only you as the President of the Congress or the Parliamentary Sub-Committee who could do it. When I found that neither the Parliamentary Sub-Committee nor the President of the Congress were giving us any help or advice in this matter, we had to take such action as we could on our own. I wish you gave this matter a little more thought. In this connection, may I point out to you that the Executive Committee of the B.P.C.C. having selected Sreejut Kiran Sankar Roy as a nominee for the vacancy in the Maldah-cum-Dinajpur constituency reported the matter to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. No reply has yet been received from the Parliamentary Sub-Committee although the matter was referred to this

Sub-Committee more than a month ago.

4. I now refer to your second letter about the selection of a scheduled caste candidate for the Constituent Assembly. While I quite agree with you that the scheduled caste members have a legitimate grievance and that one seat should be allotted to them, I fail to understand why Sj. J.C. Gupta should go out of his own way to refer the matter to you and mention the fact that the scheduled caste members 'are nursing a grievance'. I can tell you that all the members of the scheduled castes belonging to the Assembly have already sent me their assurance that they put entire trust in me as Leader of the Party. When they have not approached me with any complaints on that score, it is curious that Sj. J.C. Gupta should be agitating on issues which are no concern of his, unless he wants to make any political capital out of it.

5. With regard to Sj. J.C. Gupta's reference about the scheduled caste Ministers "acceding to the request of Sri Satyanarayan Sinha and myself" and "the assurance" which was supposed to have been given by me, I must say that it is all moonshine. J.C. Gupta seems to be talking through his hat. I gave no assurance whatsoever to anybody; on the other hand I told both the Ministers that they contravened the fundamental principles of joint responsibility by being party to the requisition for removal of the Ministry of which they themselves were members, and, as I already told you in Bombay, I had kept them out in spite of the fact that soon after the meeting of the 5th of May they came with a letter of regret and agreed to support me and my leadership. I should therefore be not surprised if J.C. Gupta is again at his old game of trying to break the Ministry. I have it that those associates of him with whom he works are again on the move to upset the present Ministry. I was sorry to find—and here I must be candid—that in this game, as I saw on the last occasion, the Member of the Working Committee and the President of the B.P.C.C. also joined. I do not know whether this letter will be seen by Dr. P.C. Ghosh, but in any case I ought to make my points clear so that you may understand the feeling with which I am writing it.

6. With regard to the relationship as between the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the President of the Congress and the local Congressmen in the Province, I feel that there has not been such cordiality as should exist, with the result that even actions taken by one in good faith are misconstrued by the other. I hope I have explained my position and the position of the Party regarding the points raised in your two letters.

Yours sincerely,
B.C. Roy
Premier, West Bengal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

164. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
30 June 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter dated 29th June. Yesterday I wrote to the Ministers requesting them to attend the Working Committee meeting on the 1st July at 3 p.m. We felt that as many of the questions are interrelated, there was no harm in asking all of them together.

I am sending an invitation to S. K. C. Neogy also.

I note that you have a meeting of the Cabinet on the 1st at 11 a.m. We shall close the morning session in time to enable you and other Cabinet Ministers to attend it. We shall meet again in the afternoon.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road, New Delhi.

165. *From Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

4 King Edward Road
New Delhi
30th June 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I duly received your letter of 25th June regarding the scope of the Commission appointed by you to examine the question of creation of some new Provinces. As unfortunately you and I differed regarding interpretation of the recommendation made by the Drafting Committee, I ventured to write to Dr. Ambedkar. I enclose copies of my letter to him and his reply.* I am sorry to trouble you repeatedly about this matter. But I do feel that whatever you may ultimately decide to do, there should be no ambiguity regarding your power to decide the terms of reference to the Commission. As Dr. Ambedkar points out, since action is being taken under section 290, the limitation of the terms of reference can be considered. The fact remains that there are no limitations on the scope of action permissible under linguistic basis, and also attachments and detachments of areas to make Provinces linguistic.

I would earnestly request you to give further consideration to the matter and

amend the scope of the terms of reference to the Commission or appoint another Commission to consider the case of West Bengal. If necessary, you may also consult Dr. Ambedkar about the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi.

*See Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's letter, dated 28 June 1948, to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, and Dr. Ambedkar's letter in reply thereto, dated 29 June 1948, in Correspondence—Part II.

166. *From Ernest R. Millington*

House of Commons
London, S.W. 1
30th June 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

It has been suggested to me by Mr. Phoulan Prasad Varma that I should write to you about the enclosed 'Plan in Outline' drawn up by the British Parliamentary Committee of the Crusade for World Government, and endorsed by the World Federalist Congress at Montreux last summer.

The main purpose of the Plan is to provide a concrete programme whereby World Federal Government can be achieved as soon as possible, and in any case not later than 1955. In order to define what powers that World Federal Government should possess it is proposed that representatives from all countries of the world should gather in a Peoples' World Constituent Assembly to be held in 1950. The representatives to this Assembly, in the proportion of one per million population, will be elected or chosen according to the system worked out by each country as most suitable to its circumstances.

As you may know, this Plan was originally drafted by a group of Labour M.P.s in July 1947 and is now supported by 100 British M.P.s of all parties. In Great Britain the first group of candidates for the proposed Peoples' World Constituent Assembly have already been chosen. They include several M.P.s, Lord Beveridge and Sir John Boyd Orr. Overseas there are Crusade groups actively at work in the U.S.A., Canada, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand. A list of some of the international sponsors of the Crusade is carried at the front of the Plan together with their recommendation of it.

In India we understand that Mr. Shiva Rao is acting as the convener of the movement to mobilise public opinion, and that Mr. Arthur Moore is assisting him. Mr. Moore has also informed us that you are inviting all members of the

Constituent Assembly to form a Parliamentary World Federalist group, and to send a delegation to Luxembourg. It is on these two points that Mr. Varma suggested that I should write to you.

Firstly, as regards Luxembourg, we have heard that there is a possibility of Mr. Dalmia attending the conference. We feel it is most important that there should be a completely balanced representation from India and we are, therefore, particularly keen that a delegation from the Indian Constituent Assembly, if possible on an all-party basis, should come to Luxembourg. Regarding the launching of the movement in India, we should be glad to have your views on what you feel the first steps should be. Do you think that a general educational campaign in the Press would be a sound beginning? And, if so, we should be glad to know if we could help by sending articles etc. It would presumably be necessary for us to know which papers would be most sympathetic. It has also been suggested to us that World Student Federalist branches should be organised in the Universities throughout India. If you think this is a good idea we would be only too glad to cooperate if you would tell us in what way we could be of most use.

Yours sincerely,
Ernest R. Millington
Chairman, British Parliamentary Committee
Crusade for World Government

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi
India.

Enclosure not included.

167. From Abul Kalam Azad

New Delhi
2nd July 1948

My dear Rajendra Prasad,

Reference your D.O. letter dated the 25th June 1948 regarding Gurukul Vishwavidyalaya, Kangri. I know that this institution was started about 48 years ago and in spite of the fact that the then Government of India did not help it in any way, it has been carrying on its work uninterruptedly. It did not ask for help from a foreign Government and now naturally it has approached this Ministry for aid. You can well imagine that my sympathies are with this institution and other institutions of like character.

2. The Gurukul Vishwavidyalaya, Kangri, has, as intimated to us, an anticipated deficit of Rs.1,19,826 for the year 1948-49. In order to help it to bridge the anticipated deficit and in recognition of the past services of this institution, this Ministry has proposed a grant for Rs.25,000. The file in question is being sent to the Ministry of Finance for its concurrence. This amount will be granted to the institution after the Ministry of Finance has concurred in our proposal.

3. Besides the above, the institution has applied for the following:

- (a) a capital grant of Rs.5 lakhs and a recurring grant of Rs.2 lakhs for strengthening the existing departments;
- (b) a grant of Rs.10 lakhs for land, building and equipment of a proposed College of Technology.

For the above grants it is necessary that the schemes should be examined by the University Grants Committee and the All India Council of Technical Education, and for this purpose the institution will have to submit an application for a grant along with a copy of their annual report and an audited statement of accounts for the past year. The Ministry of Education will take the necessary action in this matter. But as regards the grants, they will be considered by this Ministry only when they have been examined and recommended by the above two Committees.

4. Needless to say that you can count on my sympathy with all the aspirations of our national universities which in spite of their adverse circumstances somehow pulled themselves on and are now naturally looking to us for help and support.

Yours sincerely,
A.K. Azad
Minister for Education

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

168. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
2nd July 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received a cheque for a lac of rupees.

As regards the accounts, I am getting them examined. Since coming to Delhi

Jajaji has been taking interest in relief work and has been looking into the accounts. But I shall have them also scrutinised and audited.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Circuit House, Dēhra Dun.

169. *To Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 3, 1948

My dear Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee,

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated the 30th June 1948 with which you have enclosed a copy of correspondence that has passed between you and Dr. Ambedkar.* I have read Dr. Ambedkar's letter carefully. The action that I have taken is in pursuance of the recommendation of the Drafting Committee as contained in paragraph 20 of the letter addressed to me, in which they have drawn attention to the footnote to part I of the first schedule. The Committee therein recommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions, to enable any new States, whose formation it may recommend, to be created under section 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in the schedule before the Constitution is finally passed. I have not taken action under section 290. It is obvious that I have no power to take action under that section, and that point need not have been laboured. Action under section 290 may be taken by the appropriate authority if it accepts the recommendation of the Commission which I have appointed. The Commission's work is a preliminary investigation prior to action under section 290, which may be taken by the Governor-General. I have, therefore, limited the scope of the Commission's inquiry to the investigation of facts necessary for a recommendation whether any and, if so, what new States have to be created. This I consider is the intention of the Drafting Committee. Dr. Ambedkar has not said, and as far as I can judge from the language used by the Drafting Committee, he could not have said, that in making the recommendation it did the Committee contemplated or intended a revision of boundaries of existing Provinces as distinct from the creation of new Provinces.

As I have already informed you the Commission was appointed in consultation with the Prime Minister.

As I have not taken action under section 290, the points mentioned in paragraphs 4 and 5 of Dr. Ambedkar's letter do not arise.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry & Supply
New Delhi.

*See Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's letter to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, dated 28 June 1948, and Dr. Ambedkar's letter in reply thereto, dated 29 June 1948, in Correspondence—Part II.

170. *From Vallabhbhai Patel*

Camp: Dehra Dun
4 July 1948

My dear Rajenbabu,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd July 1948. I should still be grateful if you would kindly let me have a statement of the accounts.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Pd.
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

171. *To Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
4th July 1948

My dear Dr. Roy,

I have received your letter dated 30th June in reply to mine of the 26th. I am somewhat surprised to read it and to note its tone. I mentioned to you Mr. J.C. Gupta's letter but nothing turned up on what he had said. The complaint that I made was on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee and that is not at all concerned with what Mr. J.C. Gupta thinks or says. I will take the points one by one.

As regards the vacancies in the Constituent Assembly it is clear that you did

not think it worth while to take the sanction of the Parliamentary Board or the President or even to send information to the A.I.C.C. office. You say that you spoke about it to the President and Secretary of the B.P.C.C. The B.P.C.C. and its President and Secretary, according to your own views, have nothing to do with the matter, as it was the concern of the members of the Assembly Party who are to vote. You thought that they would give me the necessary intimation, although you do not say that you asked them to do so. I understand that the last date for filing nomination by candidates was 17th June. No meeting of the Assembly Party was held before that date although the vacancy had been advertised in the Gazette before. The Assembly Party meeting, to which you refer, was held on the 21st June, 4 days after the last date for nomination and it was at that meeting that the Congress candidates were selected. I do not find any justification for your not consulting the Assembly Party between the notification of the vacancy and the date when the nominations were filed. I do not see any reason why the Central Parliamentary Board should not have been consulted and its sanction obtained. There was plenty of time and unless it was intended to ignore the Central Parliamentary Board, there appears to be no reason for not consulting it.

Coming to the election of Sjt. Prafulla Chandra Sen, you have raised certain points which make it incumbent on me to recount certain facts. You will recollect that when Dr. P.C. Ghosh's Ministry fell and you were appointed Leader, and you formed your Ministry on the 23rd January 1948, you did not care to consult me about the Ministers whom you were going to appoint and even to send me information after you had appointed them. It was only after I had drawn your attention to the irregular procedure that you wrote to me on the 10th February, sent me the names of the Ministers and were sorry that you had failed to send a formal report in that letter that you had appointed three persons as Ministers who were not members of the Legislature.

In my letter dated 14th February 1948, I reiterated the complaint that the appointment of the Ministers was irregular and had been without referring to me or the Parliamentary Sub-Committee although there was plenty of time to keep me informed or to consult me. I also mentioned that the procedure could not be unknown to you because even in the matter of nomination of the candidate for election to the Legislative Assembly a reference was made to me and my sanction obtained, for example, when you yourself were a candidate for election to the Assembly. I also said that similar references had been made to me about filling up some vacancies in the Constituent Assembly. Sometime later you expanded the Cabinet and appointed Sjt. Kiran Sankar Roy as a Minister. This you did immediately after your return from Delhi but this time again I was not consulted either about the expansion or about the particular individual to be appointed. On this occasion too I was not given information by you but I came to know about* in my letter dated 10th March. In reply you explained that in the matter of expanding the Cabinet you had consulted Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad while you were in Delhi but had not troubled me on account of my illness at the time.

As regards the general question, you wanted to know if it was essential that previous permission has to be obtained from the Parliamentary Committee and you also wanted to know the rules. I explained to you in my reply dated 25th March that it was essential that the Central Parliamentary Board should always be consulted in these matters and I gave you the reasons underlying the rules. As you had consulted the members of the Parliamentary Committee in regard to the expansion I dropped the matter. So it cannot be said now that you have not been in full possession of the rules and the procedure and the convention of the All India Congress Committee in regard to these matters and yet I find that in the latest instances to which I made reference the rules have been disregarded. I read yesterday in the papers that two new Ministers have been sworn in and this time again without reference to me.

It is necessary to recall some facts in regard to the newly appointed scheduled caste Ministers also. When a move was made by some members of the Assembly Party to move a vote of no-confidence against your Ministry and yourself, these two gentlemen were members of your Cabinet and they had, as you told me, conspired with the group which was responsible for the no-confidence motion. There was another member of your Cabinet also but he had resigned from the Cabinet before he did so, whereas these gentlemen continued to be members of the Cabinet while acting against you. You told me that you would, in no circumstances, take them back in the Cabinet in case the no-confidence motion failed, and I approved of your proposal and told you that it was very wrong on the part of any member of the Cabinet to take part in any move for a motion of no-confidence against that Cabinet without resigning his seat on it and therefore you would be perfectly justified in not taking them back if you continued to be the Prime Minister. After the no-confidence motion had failed and you were called upon to form the Ministry you very rightly left them out. You reported to me, however, that they were sorry for what they have done and were promising to be loyal if they were taken back and indicated that you would in these circumstances take them back (vide your letter dated 6th May). I did not like the idea and explained to you in my letter that if you take them back your action might be misconstrued and I would not like that you should be placed in a position where your conduct would be open to comment. When I met you in Bombay I told you that in any case you should not be in a hurry to take them back. I expected that in this matter you would consult me before actually making the appointment but, as I have said above, once again they have been sworn in and I came to know about it through the Press.

Coming now to the question of nomination of candidates for vacancies the procedure has been, as you know and as you yourself acted upon when you yourself were a candidate, that the provincial executive, after consulting the District Congress Committee, makes recommendation to the Central Parliamentary Board and then when the candidature is approved, the person stands as a candidate for the election to the Legislative Assembly. This is necessary because the district from which he stands has to return him and the

District Congress Committee naturally is interested in the person to be elected and also in seeing that the right person is nominated whom it could support before the electorate. The Central Parliamentary Board's approval is required as it is held responsible, generally, for the working of the Congress members in the Assemblies. So far as the Constituent Assembly members are concerned, the first recommendation is made after consulting the members of the Party to the Central Board to give its final sanction. I have already dealt with the two vacancies in the Constituent Assembly. When I was in Dehra Dun about the middle of June I received a telephone message from Shri Kalipada Mukherjee asking me to waive the formalities about the selection of candidates for by-election in view of the existing conditions in the Province and allow an Ad Hoc Committee consisting of the President and the Secretary of the B.P.C.C. and the Leader of the Assembly Party to make the selection. I assumed that he was speaking to me after consulting the President and in order to help in getting the vacancies filled, particularly because some of the Ministers have not yet been elected to the Assembly and had to be returned at the by-elections before the 22nd July to retain their seats in the Cabinet, I agreed and allowed the candidates to be selected by the Ad Hoc Committee as suggested. I now understand from Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh that this suggestion was made to me without consulting him and without his consent. But as it was, even this Ad Hoc Committee did not meet and did not select Sjt. Prafulla Chandra Sen as the candidate for by-election to the Legislative Assembly. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh writes that he was informed after everything had happened and as he had no particular objection to Sjt. Sen he acquiesced. The Central Parliamentary Board was never informed and we came to know of Mr. Sen's election through the Press.

You complain that you have not received any cooperation or support from me and the Board and you mentioned two instances in support. You say that you had mentioned to me that four of your Ministers were without seats in the Legislature and you explained your difficulties to me but that I did not find seats for them or help you in finding them. You also say that although a recommendation has been made for the nomination of Sjt. Kiran Sankar Roy a month ago, the Parliamentary Board has slept over it. You evidently suggested that the Parliamentary Board was dilatory if not obstructive in not replying approving Shri Kiran Sankar Roy's nomination and keeping the matter pending for a month. As regards my not helping in finding seats for members of your Cabinet in the Legislature, I am surprised that you should make this complaint. You appointed these gentlemen knowing full well that they were not members of the Legislature and that if they were not returned within six months they would lose their seats in the Cabinet. In making these appointments you did not consult me, you did not even inform me and I came to know about their appointment through the Press and it was only after my protest that you, for the first time, sent me the names of members you had appointed. I do not think it is the function of the Central Parliamentary Board to find seats for persons who are unable, even

173. To Dr. John Mathai

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
5 July 1948

My dear John Mathai,

I have to draw your attention to a small matter. But very often small matters cause no inconsiderable inconvenience to the public. They can and should be set right without any difficulty.

The Howrah-Delhi Express is scheduled to arrive at Delhi Station just about 6 a.m. Very often it comes late. This morning my grandson was to come by that train. At 5.30 a.m. my Secretary telephoned to the Enquiry Office at Delhi Station whether the train was coming on time and was told in reply that it was on time. He went in my car to receive the boy, who is a stranger to Delhi. On arrival at the station he learnt that the train was $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours late and he had to return. I shall have to send him again at about 10.30 and it may very well be that the train will have arrived between now and 10.30 a.m. and my Secretary may miss the boy at the station. This is not the first time that we have had such experience. Sometime ago Mr. S.P. Varma, Chief Justice of Jaipur, was coming here by a train which is scheduled to arrive sometime between 8 p.m. and 9 p.m. and his programme was to proceed to Patna by a train which leaves at 9 p.m. As he had some urgent business with me, he asked me to meet him at the station. I went to the station but on arrival was told that the train was more than 4 hours late and I had to come back. My Secretary went again to receive Mr. Varma sometime about midnight. I am not complaining about trains not running on time. I appreciate there are various reasons and punctuality cannot be enforced. But there is no reason why late running should not be known some time in advance and communicated to those who want to know when they are expected to arrive. Our experience very often has been that either no response is received from the Enquiry Office or some wrong information of the type mentioned above is given. I have no doubt that similar must be the experience of many others. May I request that you could direct the Enquiry Office to be courteous enough to respond to enquiries about the arrival of trains and give correct information. I beg to be excused for this intrusion but I felt I owe it to the public to bring this to your notice.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Dr. John Mathai
Minister for Railways and Transport
New Delhi.

174. *From Dr. John Mathai*

New Delhi
5th July 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I have just received your letter regarding the failure of the Delhi Enquiry Office to let you know in time about the late arrival of the Howrah-Delhi Express. I am extremely annoyed that this should have happened. I will certainly take up the matter with the authorities concerned and I hope in future there will at any rate be less room for complaints of this character. Please accept my apologies for the inconvenience you have been put to.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
John Mathai
Minister, Railways and Transport

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

175. *From Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

Calcutta
6th July 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have to report that yesterday, 5th July, 3 p.m., was the last hour for putting in nomination for the vacancy caused by Prabhudayal's resignation. Nalini Babu's was the only name and therefore he will be declared elected today. There was at first a little difficulty as he belonged to two Commerce constituencies. He had to resign one and keep the other place.

I sent you a wire yesterday to the following effect:

TELEGRAM FROM SRIJUT SHANKARRAO DEO ASKING FOR CONSULTATION OF BPCC EXECUTIVE FOR HAREN BABUS NOMINATION EIGHT JULY STOP ELECTION TO BE COMPLETED BEFORE TWENTYSECOND STOP IMPOSSIBLE CALLING MEETING BPCC EXECUTIVE BEFORE EIGHTH STOP BPCC SUBCOMMITTEE APPOINTED BY YOU SELECTED HAREN BABU BY A MAJORITY STOP HOPE THIS HAS YOUR BLESSINGS AND APPROVAL

BIDHANROY

The position is this: I had four Ministers without a place in the Assembly. They were not only my Ministers but also of the Parliamentary Board. It is our duty, mine as much as yours, to see that they are elected members of the House in time. I have been able to secure seats for Prafulla Sen and Nalini Babu. Haren Babu's

election will be finished by the 21st July and if elected this will take away another of my headaches. Kiran Babu can wait till September as he joined later.

I am afraid my frank opinion in my last letter might have annoyed you. The view I take is this. Quite a number of my Ministers enjoyed more income and power such as they can even hope to have as Ministers and yet at my request Haren Babu, Nalini Babu and Kiran Babu joined the Ministry. Haren Babu is the strongest and honest Congressman I have met in Bengal. He was a Congressman in the Bengal Council for years. And, besides his assiduity, his conscientious work for Congress cause has earned respect from many of us. I am very keen upon keeping him in the Education Department and I strongly appeal to you to let him have the Bishnupur seat. The Bishnupur Congress Committee will meet tomorrow and I am assured of its support. The Committee of the Bankura District Congress (of which Bishnupur is only a subdivision) will meet on the 8th evening. The last hour of nomination is 3 p.m. on the 8th. So we are sending Haren Babu's nomination paper.

I hope you are convinced that my presence here in the Ministry is for the purpose of forwarding the Congress and Nationalist cause. I know that in doing my duty I displease a lot of people because I am not able to talk smoothly and say things I don't mean. But I am not worried about ill-considered opposition. I feel depressed, however, when I find that I have not satisfied you, the President of the Congress.

I hope you will understand my feelings, and grant my prayer.

Yours sincerely,
B.C. Roy
Premier, West Bengal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

176. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
July 8, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

You will remember placing the letter of Jayaprakash before the Working Committee in which he complained of the behaviour of Congress leaders and specially of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, during the recent elections. I wrote to Pantji also on this subject and he has sent me a long reply. I enclose this reply which might interest you

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

177. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
8th July 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am herewith forwarding a cheque for Rs. 10,600, being amount presented to me in Burma by various persons for relief of refugee sufferers. There was some delay in the money coming here, otherwise it should have gone to you earlier. You will have it credited to the Punjab Relief Fund Account. I am forwarding a list of donors.

I am also enclosing the accounts of the Central Relief Committee. They have not yet been audited.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

178. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 970/PM

New Delhi
9th July 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

As the situation in Assam was not satisfactory and Bardoloi had written a rather alarmist letter about Bengali infiltration, I wrote about it to Hydari as well as to Bardoloi. You might be interested in seeing Hydari's reply, copy of which I enclose. I wonder if you could influence the Bengal Provincial Congress leaders to tone down their aggressive attitude towards Assam.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Enclosure:

(Copy of letter dated the 6th July 1948 from the Governor of Assam, Shillong, to Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister)

Thank you for your letter of July 2nd enclosing one to Bardoloi regarding developments in Assam. I am not showing my letter to Bardoloi as you would

probably prefer his and my reply to you to be written independently of each other.

2. The allegation communicated in the first paragraph of your letter is not true. The Gauhati incident started with a quarrel between students (Assamese) and Railway staff (Bengalis) over ticketless travel; it developed into an Assamese-Bengali row; Bengali Muslims' shops were attacked as well as Bengali Hindu shops. Among the casualties 1 was killed (Bengali) and 4 injured (one Bengali and three Assamese of whom one was a Muslim). Of the 7 or 8 shops damaged during the incident 3 belonged to Bengali Muslims. Bardoloi is in a better position than I to answer the allegation that "numbers of Bengali Muslims continue to pour into Assam". I am not fully seized of the figures. It is however interesting to note that I found a similar allegation made against the Cooch Behar administration to be untrue. Its relations with India are being conducted through me and while on a recent routine visit to the State I tried to find out whether there was any substance in this charge. The Maharaja's Interim Council consists of the Chief Minister (a U.P. Hindu), 2 Hindu Ministers and 1 Muslim Minister. The Muslim Minister is an old man of a family settled in Cooch Behar for generations. He is widely respected and is more interested in the history and archaeology of Cooch Behar, on which he has written, than in politics. All the Ministers except the Chief Minister are non-officials. The Cooch Behar administration has completed the preparation of electoral rolls on the basis of adult suffrage for the elections which are to be held in September-October this year, prior to the establishment of full responsible government. The Chief Minister (Himmat Singh), when I enquired into the above allegation, informed that in the last Census the percentage of Muslims in the State was 38 to the rest of the population. In the electoral rolls now compiled the percentage of the Muslims to the rest of the population remains the same. The Maharaja and his Ministers were very bitter as well as afraid of the propaganda against the State by the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Calcutta Press. Out of a population of 6 to 7 lakhs there are only 30,000 Bengalis, the rest being Rajbansis and Cooch Behar Muslims who live in complete amity and united in their common dislike and fear of the Bengali.

3. I think it is true that Bengali officers serving in Assam are feeling nervous at the growth of anti-Bengali feeling here. But the general statement that they are not trusted by the Government and do not have its confidence because they are Bengalis is not true. Two out of the five Secretaryships to this Government are held by Bengalis, Dutta and Das. Dutta is the Food and Supply Secretary, an important post these days, and D.C. Das is the Development Commissioner and Cabinet Secretary, also a post of no small importance. The Deputy Inspector General of Police is a Bengali, Chaudhuri, the I.G. being an Englishman. The feeling of nervousness and alarm among Bengali officers of the lower grades arises, I think, from the realisation that they will not in future, as in the past, be able to pitchfork their relations into jobs in the offices in which they serve and that if any pitchforking is to be done it will be of Assamese. The main factor



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Ravi Shankar Shukla



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Jawaharlal Nehru

however which has contributed to this feeling was the treatment of Sylheti (Bengali) personnel opting for service in Assam and being in many cases refused the opportunity to do so. In my view, the Government of Assam, especially Medhi (the Finance Minister), might have been, as I kept on telling them at the time, more considerate than they were in the treatment of such cases; that they were not was due to the feeling that Sylheti (Bengali) officials had in the past been in the forefront of trouble in the Services and that they were at the bottom of much of the lack of friendliness between the Surma Valley and the Assam Valley which led to the holding up of several schemes of Government like the establishment of a University, a Medical College, a High Court, etc. In short, my Ministers felt they had a chance of getting rid of people who had made trouble in the past and might do so in the future and they were jolly well going to take it.

4. The fear referred to in the last paragraph of your letter has some justification and Government are taking (Bardoloi has told me so) preventive action to avoid a clash between Assamese students and Bengalis. But that is only a palliative and cannot be a permanent remedy; that, as I will endeavour to show, rests chiefly with the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the political leaders of Bengal, and the Calcutta Press.

5. The Assamese, especially those of Upper Assam, in spite of the reputation which is given them, are not an intolerant people. If they were they would object to the coming into Assam for purposes of Services or trade of the inhabitants of Indian Provinces other than Bengal. They do not. They prefer Assamese but failing them they welcome people of other Provinces. There is, for instance, no feeling against Bihari labourers who come to Assam in large numbers, nor even against Marwari merchants. There is no feeling against Government recruiting non-Assamese officers provided they are not Bengalis if suitable Assamese cannot be found. Quite recently when Badhwar, the Staff Member of the Railway Board, came to enquire on behalf of the Railways into the Gauhati incident he was informed by my Ministers in my presence that failing Assamese they would welcome Indian officers on the Railway from Provinces other than Bengal and failing them English officers of proved loyalty to India. As a result, Arora, a U.P. man, has been posted as Chief Administrative Officer on our Railway vice Basu. This and other appointments made by the Railway, following Badhwar's enquiry, have received general approval. You may ask the reason for the unpopularity of the Bengali in Assam; the reason is partly historical and partly due to recent developments.

6. In the heyday of British power, the British were the overlords in Assam as elsewhere; but the sub-overlords of Assam were the Bengali officials whom the British favoured and who helped them. The Assamese being among the last of the Indians to come under British rule, and especially those of Upper Assam who are a proud and serene people, kept themselves aloof. The years rolled by and the public services in Assam came to be manned in the great part by Bengalis and such commerce as was not in Marwari or British hands was conducted by

Bengalis. It can be said that as the Assamese kept aloof it was their own fault if they were pushed aside. But the feeling that they whose native land it was counted for nothing in its governance grew and festered. When therefore as a result of the Congress coming into the Legislature the Assamese got political power they set about trying to break down the supremacy of Bengali culture and of Bengali officialdom. The Transfer of Power removed any check to this movement there might have existed before. Now that it has come the only remedy lies in the political leaders of the West Bengal and the Calcutta Press making a sincere attempt to shed their arrogant attitude towards Assamese and their propaganda against Assam which is a mixture of half truths and innuendoes. Also they should stop trying to bag the territory of their neighbours.

7. You will have seen from the papers the attempt of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee to get portions of Assam and the States connected with it under its wing. Can you wonder that this sort of activity makes the Assamese hopping mad? What an attitude of friendliness, of fairminded enquiry and of not wanting to grab something which is not yours, can do was demonstrated during the recent short visit of Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh. His speeches and, even more than his speeches, his contacts in Gauhati and Shillong at once threw oil on troubled waters. He stayed with me while in Shillong and I can testify that he produced some change in the attitude of my Ministers in their views of the Gauhati incident. So much so that as a token of their sympathy they even agreed to the giving of some compensation to sufferers in Gauhati in advance of the results of the official enquiry now proceeding. Unfortunately Dr. Ghosh's visit was followed by further outbursts in the Calcutta Press and the situation is again deteriorating. Every time Bardoloi and I through our speeches and contacts begin to succeed to some extent in calming down feelings as a preliminary to the building up of friendship between neighbours, we are faced, because of some incident, with an emotional outburst in the Calcutta Press and on the part of some of West Bengal's political leaders—and all the work is undone. We realise that we must try again and again, for it is not in the interest of India, nor indeed of Assam, as you say, for this animosity to persist. Assam is a Province rich in resources but poor as yet in development. It needs a great deal of assistance, technical and other, and sympathy from the rest of India. But hitherto Bengali propaganda has not given us a chance of quietening the more hysterical among our Press and politicians.

8. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Dr. Bidhan Roy are coming to Assam tomorrow. I will try and impress upon them, as I have done on Dr. Bidhan Roy before, the importance of putting a curb on their side to Bengali propaganda, as we are trying to do on ours; and to verify allegations of ill-treatment etc. before voicing them in public. I realise that West Bengal is suffering from a sense of grievance at the Partition of Bengal and smarting at the reduced importance of West Bengal. It is natural that it should try to make up for it in some way; but I submit this cannot be at the expense of other peoples' territories but by virtue of their achievements in Science, in Literature and in Music in which they are at

present so much more advanced than is Assam.

9. I hope you will forgive me for the length of this letter. In fact I was myself becoming so alarmed at the growth of provincialism all over the country that I was meaning to write to you on its manifestations so far as they affect Assam, when your letter came.

179. *From Bhimsen Sachar*

11 Ferozeshah Road

New Delhi

9th July 1948

My dear Babuji,

I understand, the vacancy created by the resignation of Dewan Chamanlal from the Constituent Assembly of India is contemplated to be filled in by the return of the Hon'ble Shri Jairamdas Doulatram. In this connection, I beg to draw your attention to the fact that already the representation of the Hindus from West Punjab has been reduced by one. We had three representatives of the West Punjab Hindus in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, while in their place we have been allowed only two representatives and if now a non-Punjabi is selected to succeed Dewan Chamanlal the Hindus from West Punjab will further suffer in their representation in the Constituent Assembly of India. I have, therefore, to strongly urge upon you the desirability of allowing the vacancy to be filled in by a representative of the Hindus from West Punjab.

I hope, I have not to assure you that I am looking at the question from a purely impersonal point of view. In normal conditions, it would be an honour to have Hon'ble Shri Jairamdas Doulatram to represent us, but, as I have submitted above, because we are already under-represented in the Constituent Assembly of India, we have to forgo the privilege of having even Shri Jairamdas Doulatram as our representative. I understand Shri Jairamdas Doulatram must be returned before the 13th instant in order to enable him to retain his seat in the Cabinet. If that be so, our vacancy cannot come to his help, as the latest hour for filing the nomination papers is 12-30 p.m. on the 17th instant. If, however, there is no escape from nominating Shri Jairamdas Doulatram for this vacancy, provided the date of nomination can be accelerated, I have to request that steps should be taken to enable another representative of the West Punjab Hindus to be returned to the Constituent Assembly within a month from now. I have no doubt the reasonableness of this request will commend itself to you and you will be kind enough to issue necessary instructions in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Bhimsen Sachar

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chairman, Central Parliamentary Board
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

180. *To Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 10, 1948

My dear Dr. Roy,

Many thanks for your letter of the 8th June. I have got your telegram last night and immediately wired back approving the candidature of Harendra Babu's. I am enclosing a letter which I had drafted in reply to yours but which was not posted. This will explain to you the position fully. There is nothing to forgive. We are all co-workers and I think I am capable of taking impersonal decision in these matters. There is no question of any disrespect to me. But you will agree that I must uphold the position and prestige of the organisation which I have the honour to serve.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Dr. Bidhan Ch. Roy
Premier, West Bengal
Calcutta.

Enclosure not included.

181. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 10, 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 8th July enclosing copy of Pandit Pant's letter and enclosures, regarding the recent elections in the U.P. Pantji has sent me a copy independently when he had written to you and I am therefore returning the enclosures.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister, India.

182. *From Govind Ballabh Pant*

Camp: Naini Tal

July 10, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

You will have by this time received the letter I sent you from Lucknow. I wonder if you need any further information in this connection. In case you do, you will kindly let me know.

I received your previous letters. They were connected, more or less, with official matters. I did not like to bother you as I wanted to leave you undisturbed to the extent it is possible for me to do so. I had occasion to speak to you the other day on the telephone and gathered from the talk I had with you that your health had been almost restored to normal. Let me hope that my impression is correct. I shall be grateful if you will just let me have a line to reassure me. The rains have almost set in and with the growing humidity in the air certain precautions will be necessary. I trust it will be possible for you to stay in some dry place. Almora has a very fine climate, but it is somewhat away from the railway line; otherwise I think a month's stay there would be of real benefit.

You had forwarded to me one or two complaints connected with the wedding of the sons of Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim. Hafiz has not had the privilege of coming in close contact with you. He is a fine gentleman, thoroughly dependable and scrupulously honest. You might have seen the statement that was issued by him. It was published in most of the daily papers. I enclose a cutting from the issue of the *Leader* dated June 25. It covers the entire ground and I need not say more.

You were thinking of visiting some important centres for promoting the activities of the National Memorial Fund. We were looking forward to your visit to Lucknow, Kanpur and one or two other places in this Province. I learnt from a letter received from Kripalaniji about a fortnight ago that you had in view of the change in the weather decided to postpone your tour for some time. He may be himself visiting Kanpur in this connection soon. We have formed joint committees of officials and non-officials and asked them to pool all their resources for this purpose. Definite instructions have been given to the Government servants not to do anything that would savour of undue influence, but there has been some criticism of this plan. Jawaharlalji also wrote to me in this connection recently. In the circumstances I think it is advisable not to use the officials for making collections for the Fund. They will continue as members of the committees, but will not directly approach people for donations. The Congress organization has not yet been able to make any vigorous and fruitful efforts so far. It can take up the work in a befitting manner. The official element can be later withdrawn altogether and will fade off even in ordinary course. The collections so far have not been satisfactory and some systematic measures have to be taken to create necessary enthusiasm, which seems to be lacking at present. I shall await your further instructions.

Prices of foodstuffs have risen very high. There has been no substantial fall in the price of cloth. The difficulties of transport and scarcity of other articles of daily use continue unabated. Middle classes are finding it extremely difficult to make the two ends meet. The economic situation is giving cause for concern but there is no easy or ready solution. Yet something has to be done. The policy of de-control has not resolved the tension. Whether revival of controls will improve matters one cannot easily answer.

I regret that I could not attend the last meeting of the Working Committee. I may be coming to Delhi sometime between the 19th and 22nd and hope to get the opportunity of seeing you then.

Yours sincerely,
Govind Ballabh Pant

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Congress President
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

NO MISUSE OF GOVERNMENT MONEY—IBRAHIM'S REPLY TO DAMODAR SWAROOP'S CHARGES

LUCKNOW, June 23.—Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, Minister for Communication, in a statement today, denied the charges of misuse of Government money, made out against him by the Socialist leader, Seth Damodar Swaroop.

The Minister says:

"Seth Damodar Swaroop is a very prominent public man of our Province, for whom I entertain great respect. I never expected that he will say anything against me in public, without first ascertaining the facts from me. If gossip, current stories, whispers and rumours were made a basis for hurling grave charges against anyone, public life would completely degenerate. The statement of Sethji, as he says, is based on certain stories. The truth of the matter mentioned in the statement is as follows.

"As for the A.C.-D.C. affair, which has been bolstered to assume the character of a heinous crime, the facts are that A.C. is cheaper, better, and more modern than D.C., and there is a plan to replace D.C. by A.C. in the entire city of Lucknow. Cassels Road in Lucknow was not fitted with A.C., and A.C. has certainly been introduced in the ministerial residence in Panch Bangalia, where it has cost the Government much less than even 113 of the alleged figure. The buildings concerned are Government buildings, and the improvement effected is permanent, without any reference to the present occupants.

"The story of wedding, mentioned by Sethji, concerns me. I take notice of it, and must bring the facts to light. The story contains some major and minor charges against me.

"The first charge is that a new road at thrice the usual cost was constructed, simply to cater to my convenience in connection with the wedding. It is a falsehood. No such road was constructed. I guess that the road referred to is the Nagina-Barhapur road, which happens to pass nearby my residence, and on which bajri was recently spread. This road has been under construction for the last year-and-a-half under the U.P. road plan, and the bajri was spread in accordance with the construction programme.

"The second charge is that for finding additional electric energy required for electric decoration, tube-wells were worked for shorter hours, and electricity diverted to meet my requirements to the detriment of the cultivators. This is a preposterous piece of imagination to instigate the cultivators. The fact is that current was obtained as usual from Martin and Co., who are the distributors in that area. No current was diverted from the Hydel department, and no tube-well suffered from lack of energy on account of the electric decoration.

"The third charge is that a new aerodrome was constructed to suit the convenience of my guests, who happened to come by air. No such aerodrome was ever constructed at Nagina. There is a private aerodrome at Tajpur, about 35 miles from Nagina. It is a place where aeroplanes can land in times of emergency. Minor repairs were recently carried out to make it suitable for landing. No pucca arrangements were made.

"The fourth charge is that Government money, to the tune of lakhs, was spent on this private function. This is absolutely baseless. Not a pie was spent from Government coffers. It passes my comprehension how Government money could be used for this wedding function. There is no budget allotment for such purposes.

"Besides the above, there are two minor charges. Firstly, that Government property like electric wires, bulbs, fans, carpets, durries, etc., were used. They were certainly used, but there was nothing irregular about it. Rules provide for the hiring of certain articles lying idle with the Government, and I hired them, just as anybody else would have done. No fans were detached from anywhere specially for this function. Not only that, I paid the rent even for the use of the articles of furniture at my Lucknow residence. I might tell that it cost me more than what it could, if I had hired these articles from the market. Before I sent for anything, I had deposited money in the Government treasury to cover the charges.

"The second charge is that I used the services of Government engineers. Engineers did attend the wedding, and some even looked after the comfort of my guests. But all of them had been invited, and they had come on casual leave, as they would have done for any other private work. There is certainly nothing objectionable in anybody attending social functions.

"I leave it now to Sethji and the people to judge whether I abused my position. For myself, I believe that it is a people's government, and anybody, howsoever great, found committing irregularities or guilty of any corrupt practices, should not be given any quarter."—A.P.I.

183. *To Vallabhbhai Patel*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 10, 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Here are three communications which I have received today regarding the formation of a Ministry in Patiala and East Punjab States Union. They will speak for themselves. Suggestions have been made to me by S. Pratap Singh and S. Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Member, Working Committee, and President, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, respectively. I do not know if any decision has yet been taken and I thought I might keep you in full possession of what I come to know.

I received a message from Prithvi Singh Azad, Harijan Minister in East Punjab, and he suggested that a Harijan should also be taken. Sjt. Jagjivan Ram also supported him.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Enclosures not included.

184. *To Bhimsen Sachar*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 10, 1948

My dear Sri Bhimsen Sachar,

I have received your letter dated 9th July. In selecting Members to the Constituent Assembly care was taken in the very beginning to have a Member of top-rank elected from various Provinces and so almost every Province was required to elect a few of such men. So far as I remember, Punjab did not have to do that up to now. And, as a matter of fact, one of her most prominent leaders, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, had to be provided for elsewhere.

At this time we are on the look out for a vacancy for Jairamdas Doulatram who was elected originally to the Assembly from Sind, but lost his seat after the Partition. There was no vacancy available except that of Dewan Chamanlal and so it was suggested that Jairamdas Doulatram might be elected. The date for final nomination has been fixed for the 13th, I understand, and so unless there is a contest he will be elected just in time to remain as a Member of Government. We cannot continue to think of West Punjab or East Punjab, they are all now in East Punjab and the representatives of East Punjab should represent those also who

have come from West Punjab. In asking East Punjab to elect Jairamdas Doulatram we have done nothing that we have not done to other Provinces in the past whenever occasion has demanded. I hope there will be no contest.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Sri Bhimsen Sachar
11 Ferozeshah Road
New Delhi.

185. *From B.F.H.B. Tyabji*

EMBASSY OF INDIA

No. 11/BELG/48

Boulevard St. Michel, 111
Brussels
10th July 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I am sorry that since I left the Constituent Assembly Secretariat, I have had no opportunity of seeing you or even of writing to you. I shall always remember those days; not only were they valuable from the point of view of the important work that was done there under your guidance, but they gave me the privileged opportunity of knowing people like you. We have been here since March last. Apart from the initial difficulties of setting up a new diplomatic mission, we have found the work and the life here most interesting. As you know, Belgium is in the heart of Western Europe and her primary concern is to protect herself against the danger which threatens it from the East. With this overriding fear of war, it is difficult to make them appreciate the point of view of India which does not want to join either of the two great blocs of powers which dominate world politics today. We try our best, but the results are naturally slow. It is, however, extremely interesting to see how greatly all kinds of people are interested in the work and life of Mahatma Gandhi. To give you an example, I enclose a small book published here called *Hommage A Gandhi*. This, I am sure, will interest you.

With kind regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
B.F.H.B. Tyabji

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Constituent Assembly of India
Council House, New Delhi.

186. *From Hiralal Bose*

18/1 Lansdowne Road
Calcutta-20
11th July 1948

Dear Dr. Prasad,

It is some time since the opening year of the war when we met in Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram at Sewagram, where I remember you introduced me to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the other Congress leaders. We had gone there as a Moral Re-Armament team to wait on the Mahatma.

I remember also your coming to have quiet times with us at Wardha, where you shared with us your experiences.

A couple of years back I sent you a copy of the life of Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of the Moral Re-Armament group, and received your thanks therefor.

Since then many things have happened. India has found her freedom, and you are one of those called to lead her on to her destiny.

In June they had a World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament at Riverside in California. Dr. Buchman's opening address was broadcast to the world, including a relay from Delhi. Rajaji, who was then in Bengal, was much interested in this address, and through his encouragement it was relayed from A.I.R., Calcutta. The original copy of Dr. Buchman's address as sent from America was presented to Rajaji.

The address deals with the problem that is facing India and the world today—divisiveness, and the answer to it.

The world is waiting for the solution presented there. I enclose a copy, which I am sure you will find helpful at this critical period.

Wishing you all power in your work,

In loyalty,
Hiralal Bose

Honourable Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(World broadcast by Dr. Frank N.D. Buchman on June 4, 1948)

THE ANSWER TO ANY 'ISM'—EVEN MATERIALISM

Everywhere men long for peace and prepare for war. They long to rebuild and prepare to destroy. They plan for new prosperity and expect fresh disasters.

What is the missing factor in the planning and the statesmanship of the world today?

It is our lack of an ideology for democracy. We say we are democrats, we need no ideology.

So we try to meet the united plan and passion of alien ideologies with talk and with lip-service to high ideals and with a last resort to force. And we hope to live as we have always lived—selfishly, comfortably, and undisturbed.

We have all lived too long in an atmosphere of imagining that security, prosperity, comfort, and culture are natural to man.

An extreme of evil must be met with an extreme of good. A fanatical following of evil by a passionate pursuit of good.

Only a passion can cure a passion. And only a superior world-arching ideology can cure a world divided by warring ideologies.

We Americans have been lulled into a false security by believing that all the 'isms' are across the sea.

'Isms' grow from unsolved problems in the life of men and nations. One man's hates kindle a million hates. One man's suspicion explodes a million suspicions. It spreads like a prairie fire. Or it creeps like a flame underground to burst out unexpectedly in a hundred places.

Is America free from hates, fears, suspicions, and greed?

Why is our record of broken homes so high? How about industrial strife? Are we victims of the greatest 'ism' of all—Materialism?

Is materialism the mother of all the 'isms'? Is materialism becoming our national ideology?

We stretch out generous hands to help Europe and Asia economically. But materialism frustrates our best intentions. Prices rise, money is worth less. Troubles in industry cut down the supply of goods. At the moment when our strength is most needed abroad, we may find ourselves in our greatest crisis.

The other 'isms' are banking on that. They wait their time. They know that money, food and clothes alone will not save Europe; that material things may make nations just strong enough to become tools in their ideological conquest of the world.

Ten years ago Moral Re-Armament was born.

What have we learned in these ten years?

We have learned that democracy without an ideology can win a war but cannot build a peace; that ideological preparedness is the task of the whole nation, and is the one sure basis of national strength, moral, military and economic.

Today MRA offers the democracies and the whole world the superior armament of an ideology, with which armies are out-fought and statesmen are out-thought.

MRA has grown in ten years to the stature of a world answer to any 'ism'—even materialism. In the words of a British coalminer, "Moral Re-Armament is the answer to every 'ism' ever invented." It is for everyone, everywhere. It has restored for millions the simple sanctities of home and honor, and given hope for a new world. It has built the world organism that can make a reality of this hope.

Let me cite a few proven facts of the past twelve months. 150 leading Germans

came to the World Assembly for Moral Re-Armament in Caux, Switzerland; General Clay in Berlin and Lord Pakenham in London made their visit possible. These Germans found the answer to nihilism and to an ideologically broken nation. An allied official, Military Governor of Cologne, said, "MRA is the ideal solution for Germany." A leading German Socialist, a former Minister-President, said, "If Europe is to be saved, it must be saved in the spirit of Moral Re-Armament."

The first democratic handbook by Germans giving the answering ideology was produced by these men. It is going out far and wide even behind the Iron Curtain. Sweden gave 100 tons of paper because she saw her security lay in a new spirit in Germany.

French industry—battlefield of the ideologies—has found a uniting force. An employer, heading an organization of employers of 600,000 workers, fought Labor. The head of all the Socialist women of France mistrusted Management. These two saw the new battle-line—for or against democracy's inspired ideology. They met. They changed. They apologized, and are working together. Thousands rally to them. They speak not of revolution, not of reaction, but of renaissance—the rebirth of a nation, the rebirth of a continent.

Italy—focus of an anxious world. 200 Italians including 26 Members of the Italian Parliament from five different parties came to the MRA Conference last summer. The Christian Democrat and the Socialist learned to work together. A Socialist said, "It is a miracle. Our parties can get together in the same way as we have." Is that one of the secrets of the Italian elections?

Britain—production is returning. But what is her greatest problem today? After seeing the Moral Re-Armament program in the coalfields of Britain a mine manager said, "Moral Re-Armament fills the emptiness and gives the dynamic we need." Lord Nuffield, the genius of Britain's automobile industry, sent this message to the MRA program at the time of the British Industries Fair, "We must be prepared," says he, "to face man-made problems which beset us by bringing into our personal, family and industrial lives in full measure the principles of truth, integrity, unselfishness and compassionate understanding of the other man's problems."

What is the common factor in all this good news? It is union—the almost forgotten solution to all our problems today.

Division is the mark of our age. Division in the heart. Division in the home. Division in industry. Division in the nation. Division between nations.

Union is our instant need.

Division is the work of human pride, hate, lust, fear, greed.

Division is the trademark of materialism.

Union is the grace of rebirth. We have lost the art of uniting because we have forgotten the secret of change and rebirth.

Moral Re-Armament is the good road of an ideology inspired by God upon which all can unite.

Catholic, Jew and Protestant, Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist and Confucianist—

all find they can travel along this good road together. It lifts them above differences to the level of a superior ideology.

I called on a great leader in his time of deep sorrow. He gave me these words of Fulton Sheon, "What the world needs today is not to plead for religious unity so much as to plead for the unity of religious people." Those are the words of a great Catholic leader.

The Jew has his pristine contribution in the words of the great prophet-leader Isaiah, "Nations shall run unto thee because of the Lord thy God," and "Great shall be the peace of thy children." And in the words of the Psalmist, "Great peace have they which love Thy law; and nothing shall offend them."

Is that the medium of approach for the Palestine problem?

It is so easy to have these great truths lost in prejudice. "Behold how these brothers fight one another", says the world. But it should be, "Behold how these brothers love one another."

And what do Pakistan and India say? The answer is the same. The Minister of Labor in Bombay Provincial Government, took this word back to the leaders of his country and to the millions of India's workers, "Until I met Moral Re-Armament I had not felt confident that there was an idea which could be applied universally as an adequate answer."

Think of the strikes today. 75,000 men—100,000 men. No one thinks much about strikes: True, the President says they may have national repercussions. But do we see that strikes can be the entrance for one of the 'isms? Is it materialism in the thinking and living of both management and labor—and of you and me?

Think of America destroying herself with the very thing she condemns in others.

And what does the employer say? The representative of one of the greatest aircraft manufacturers in California told us, "Until I saw your work, I thought the answer to materialism was dead with St. Francis."

Now make no mistake. I do not say that this message will be wholly popular. It stirs the conscience. That is uncomfortable. It will also be open to misrepresentation by those who wish to escape it. But it comes as an illumination to those who are ready.

Let me tell you how it came to me. Just 40 years ago materialism was winning its battle in my heart. One day, in England, God showed me the cost of my pride and my materialism. I admitted it. That is the first step. Get honest.

I said, "Sorry"—first to God, and then to those I had wronged.

I learned to listen to God.

Change is the heart of the superior ideology.

As individuals change, a new climate comes to the nation's life. As statesmen change, the fear of war and chaos will lift. The most difficult will respond to the firm, united but humble voice of reborn democracy.

Why should there be catastrophe again when, with God, renaissance is inevitable?

This is the new pattern of the freedom of all nations. Shall it be a new Dark Age

for Europe and the world? Or shall it be world-wide Renaissance of the moral and spiritual forces everywhere, bursting into life and bringing at the last moment a miracle to mankind?

Which shall it be? The decision rests in your hands.

187. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 12, 1948

My dear Pantji,

I am herewith enclosing a postcard which I have received from Vrindaban. It is a complaint against compulsory deduction of a part of the salary of the Municipal employees on account of the Gandhi Memorial Fund.

I hope the matter will receive your attention.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Shri Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier, United Provinces
Lucknow.

Enclosure not included.

188. *To Ravi Shankar Shukla*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 12, 1948

My dear Shuklaji,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have received. It seems to be based on the assumption that there is a secret circular issued by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru enjoining on the Provincial Governments to exterminate and annihilate and uproot all the Sanghites. It also implies that Maharashtrian Brahmins are being singled out for bad treatment and are suffering most under the present policy of the Government. I shall be obliged if you will kindly let me have an appraisal of the situation so far as the R.S.S. is concerned and also what action has been or is being taken by the Government against its Maharashtrian Brahmins.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Pt. Ravi Shankar Shukla
Premier, C.P. & Berar
Nagpur.

Enclosure:

(Copy of letter from M.R. Thosar)

Akola (Berar)

7th July 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

This letter is being addressed to you by practically a man in the street. He is conscious that the usual fate of such letters is the waste-paper basket.

It is generally rumoured in Berar that there is a secret circular issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru against the members of the old R.S.S. In it he has stated that the Government wants to exterminate, annihilate and uproot all Sanghites.

I cannot really understand the very drastic steps being taken against the rank and file for the only alleged offence of being members of the Sangh once. It is crystal clear that the Sangh activity has completely ceased. There is not a single case put by any Government for having conducted an unlawful association, viz. Sangh.

Whatever the ideologies of the Sangh might be to which Government takes objection, it is plain enough that the average rank and file has an innocent record and is completely ignorant about the alleged bad element complained of by the Government. So far as Berar is concerned at least the Sangh and its old members had absolutely no connection whatsoever with the heinous act perpetrated at Delhi in January last. In point of fact the act was condemned by members of that body.

Immediately the Sangh was declared unlawful, they obeyed the Government to the utmost, even without a protest, in order to keep the Government strong in its difficult position created by the heinous act.

It is common knowledge that a very large section of the youth of the middle class going to schools and colleges was attracted by Sangh. It is also common knowledge that bulk of the workers of the Sangh came from school teachers. If the Government is determined, as is alleged, to exterminate and annihilate these people for their past allegiance, it means the ruin of a very large section of the intelligentsia of Berar. Incidentally I may add that it means the ruin of a bulk of Maharashtrian Brahmin community, who struggled and sacrificed to drive out a foreigner. No Government can be an enemy of a section of its people and no Government can make differentiation in its treatment unless the other side has been proved to be convicts. This large section is being prejudged and punished mercilessly without being given an opportunity to have any say. No inquiry has been made about them publicly nor have they ever been asked what they have got to say in the matter. Even people who were never Sanghites have been ex parte alleged to be so and punished. This treatment reminds us of the old medieval repression on the same lines as those carried out by the British Government after Lokmanya's arrest in 1908 against Chitpawan Brahmins. Even the school leaving certificate has been called upon to show whether the boy was a member of the

Sangh to the knowledge of the Headmaster and the Headmaster is to make inquiries and prejudge the boy on hearsay. In Berar managements of schools are being forced to drive out all teachers who once belonged to the Sangh. No Government service is being given to students who once belonged to the Sangh. The Ministries are unwilling to disclose their policies openly and the hatred of the public is specially being created against a particular caste of the society.

The matter to my mind is so unjust and fraught with so evil consequences that my mind shudders at the thought that a patriotic Government should stoop so low and persecute with a view to exterminate, annihilate and uproot a particular caste. Can I reasonably expect a contradiction from you about the alleged instructions in the matter?

I may here frankly add that in the year 1930 when late Dr. Hedgewar was released from the Akola Central Jail, I had entertained him at my house and under his inspiration I had become a member of that body. I believed that that body was struggling against foreign rule. I ceased to take interest in Sangh in 1932 as that body wanted to keep itself aloof from politics and since then I had no connection with that body. However I have got many friends in that body. I know of their genuine patriotism and high-mindedness. I think they are incapable of doing anything unhonourable and they would be the last persons to create disrespect against Mahatmaji and the Congress High Command. They have several times given the highest praise to the highly patriotic Congress High Command.

In view of the deteriorating conditions in Berar and on account of the fretting mind of an imbecile person like myself who can do nothing in the matter, I have taken this recourse of addressing this letter to you, which, I fear, in all probability will remain unread and unanswered. I am conscious of the fact that this letter has been unnecessarily lengthy and it might encroach upon your most valuable time. I beg to be pardoned for this intrusion on your time.

Yours sincerely,
M.R. Thosar
Editor, *Sewak*

189. To M.R. Thosar

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 12, 1948

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated the 7th July.

So far as I know, there is no circular issued by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru stating that the Government of India want to exterminate, annihilate and uproot all Sanghites. I cannot believe that there can be any such circular. The Government

of India found reasons for declaring the Sangh illegal and I believe that that order still stands. As I do not know what action is being taken against individual members connected or supposed to be connected with the Sangh it is difficult for me to deal with the points which you have raised. If you do not mind, I shall refer your letter to the C.P. and Berar Ministry to find out how things stand.

It is a difficult question, however, that an entire community should be condemned and I cannot think that Government can have any policy of exterminating or annihilating any particular caste or community and much less Maharashtrian Brahmin community. I am however, as I have said above, trying to find out the situation from the Ministry, particularly how the Maharashtrian community stand there.

Yours faithfully,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri M.R. Thosar
Pleader and Editor, *Sewak*
Akola, Berar.

190. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Staff Qrs. No.1
Ranchi
C/o Postmaster, Ranchi
The 12th July 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I received some days back your kind and long reply to my last letter. You will believe me that I highly appreciate your kind solicitude to reply to all my letters, in spite of your heavy and strenuous work, and occasionally bad health. On the receipt of your reply, I conveyed to Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta that you were in absolute agreement with me that there was no analogy for the Province pertaining to one Dominion to develop inter-Provincial relations with that of another Dominion, which was what he exactly desired, in the sense that West Bengal and East Bengal should have trade and other relations by themselves and between themselves. I fear, your reply must have proved disappointing to the enthusiastic and learned Doctor of Calcutta. (I have just got his "last word", which I enclose herewith just for your perusal.)

Apart from minor troubles connected with sleeplessness (owing, I suppose, to the height of Ranchi being 2,000, a fact which has also struck the doctors here), I have had two major troubles here in the way of what they call (in their medical parlance) 'cardiac asthma', on the 19th June, and the 2nd July. On top of it I developed, for no apparent cause whatsoever, high fever on the 4th, ranging up to about 103. The Civil Surgeon here, Dr. Harnandan Prasad, a very skilful physician, got alarmed and phoned up to Dr. Raghunath Sharan to come over. He

and Radha Krishna came from Patna on the 5th but, very fortunately, the fever had gone down on the morning of the 5th to normal, and has not returned since, for now one week. I have been quite free from it, and in fairly good health, if not normal health. Baldeoji who was here, returned to Patna on the 5th, after my fever had gone down. I am now fairly well for my time of life, and there is no apparent cause for any anxiety on your part on my account.

On receipt of your letter on the 5th, I wrote at once to Baldeoji requesting him to draft one or two amendments which, if accepted by the Constituent Assembly, would serve our purpose in avoiding perpetually such bitter and brutal hostility in the Press and on the platform, as also sometimes in trams and streets of Calcutta, as have manifested themselves recently throughout West Bengal, and also in the Manbhum district of this Province. I am enclosing herewith Baldeoji's reply,* which I earnestly hope you will kindly spare time to go through, and to consider his suggestions. You will then finally write to me after a full and careful consideration of this matter, which particular form our draft amendment should take. You will kindly do me the favour to send it to me ready typed out in the proper form so that the only thing remaining for me to do is to sign it, and send it to the Secretary, Constituent Assembly of India.

Lastly, my Memorandum on the Bengal-Bihar issue is nearly complete. It has been a very heavy and trying task for me to have brought it to a completion at my time of life, absolutely unassisted by any trained staff; but it has been done somehow or other, and the last chapters are now being typed and completed. Before I return to Patna on some date between the 18th and the 21st of this month, I hope I shall have posted to you a complete text of the Memorandum.

Meanwhile, trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Ever yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

P.S. Mrityunjay came here from Patna the other day in connection with his business and kindly called round to see me. He is quite well.

S. Sinha

*Not included.

Enclosure:

(A letter from Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha)

P-93 Manoharpukur Road
Calcutta
July 9, 1948

Dear Dr. Sinha,

Many thanks for your kind letter and for the real interest you are taking in my

opinions. I am sorry to hear that you have been ill but glad that you have shaken it off.

As regards Dr. Rajendra Prasad's reply, I am not very keen on arguing the matter out, for, after close upon half a century spent mostly in arguing, I have ceased to believe that you can shake a man's settled opinion by mere argument. But as you desire me to explain my viewpoint I am sending you some observations.

My first comment is that Dr. Prasad's argument is based on abstract principles while I take my stand on concrete facts of administration. Where two neighbouring lands have to be in constant intercourse, it certainly cannot be conducive to efficient administration to hold up questions which arise from day to day for reference to distant centres like Delhi and Karachi.

Experience of the administration of Bengal in pre-1935 days showed every day how even urgent problems on matters in the provincial administration had to suffer delay and even frustration on account of limitations in the powers of the Province. Even where I had convinced the Governor and Ministries about such questions as jute control and debt settlement, it took years before the Government could do anything about these matters because the Centre took a long time to sanction the necessary resources.

On the abstract question as to whether centralised administration is to be prepared to decentralisation, it would be too long to argue. On the whole the argument was firmly put by Harold Laski in his *Grammar of Politics* years ago. Among other things, the point is emphasised by him that local people are better experts in dealing with local questions than people at a distance specially in a big country like India. Another principle is that democracy becomes less and less real as the administration is centralised in more and more distant authorities.

But it is hardly worth while now to argue about the matter. The Draft Constitution accepts the principle of decentralisation within limits. Without going into the merits of the limitations it is quite clear that the Provinces and not the Centre are made exclusively responsible for certain functions of administration. If they are to be responsible they ought to be given the fullest powers to deal with those matters and that their responsibility in those matters should not be divided with the Centre.

If this is accepted it follows that where in the course of administration of these matters it becomes necessary for Bengal to smooth matters by arrangement with East Bengal, there seems to be no reason why West Bengal and East Bengal should not be permitted to arrange agreements without trenching in the least upon any Central subject. If you from the Constituent Assembly will call for and examine the memoranda of conferences between the two Governments held recently you will find many details which will, I am sure, satisfy you about the utility and even the necessity of giving Provinces powers to negotiate on such matters.

Dr. Prasad draws a distinction between the Dominion of Canada and the Provinces of India. I did not forget the difference, nor use the Canadian example

as an argument for giving similar powers to the Provinces. I referred to Canada only to illustrate the sort of things upon which a subordinate Government might be allowed to enter into relations with a foreign state. But I am sure that notwithstanding the difference between Canada and an Indian Province the reference to that example is altogether irrelevant. If we remember the old status of British Dominions sometime before the Statute of Westminster we shall see that no Dominion in the past could have any external relation with a foreign state, being a subordinate government under the British Parliament. The principle which excluded such powers in Canada was exactly the same as is now invoked here, viz. that the Central authority should be the only power to negotiate with foreign states. This principle was abandoned and had to be abandoned in favour of the Dominions. The logic of this conclusion will equally apply to Provinces in India where expediency dictates that the Provinces should implement their responsibilities about provincial subjects only, by negotiations with foreign neighbours.

I do not want to rely on a cheap answer to Dr. Prasad by pointing out that his reference to the Canadian question is not apropos. For Canada as a Dominion is allowed to deal not only with another Dominion but with a foreign state. While what I am pleading for is that Provinces should have limited dealing not with a foreign state but only with another Dominion. I know that this difference may not hold for long.

I am leaving immediately for Midnapur on a professional business and must ask leave to conclude now. I hope I have succeeded in making you think even if I should not have convinced you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
N.C. Sen Gupta

191. *From Mira Behn*

Ashram, Pashulok
P.O. Rishikesh
Dist. Dehra Dun
July 13, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter I have sent to Pandit Keshav Dev Malaviya, Development Minister, U.P. I have sent copies also to Pantji, Director of Industries, U.P., Prabhudas Bhai, Krishnadas Bhai and Vichitrnarayanji. The letter explains itself.

Yours affectionately,
Mira Behn

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Copy of a letter from Mira Behn to Keshav Dev Malaviya)

D.O. No. 413/48

Ashram, Pashulok
P.O. Rishikesh
Dist. Dehra Dun
July 9, 1948

I have been contemplating for a long time the illogical position which the U.P. Government is getting into with regard to its Khadi policy. A big Khadi scheme is being launched throughout the Province for the development of self-sufficient Khadi amongst the villagers. They are being told that Khadi is the thing, and everyone should use it. I picture to myself a kisan, who has listened to this propaganda, and has started preparing Khadi sufficient for his requirements in his own house. One day he falls sick and is taken to the Civil Hospital for an operation. To his surprise he finds that the *Ma Bap Sarkar*, which had given him such good advice about the use of Khadi, uses nothing but mill cloth in its own hospitals. This creates in his mind some doubt and suspicion as to the honesty of the Government propaganda. When he returns to his home, one of his sons, who has become a peon in Government service, comes to see his father. The old peasant looks at him, expecting to see him fully dressed in the much praised Khadi cloth. But again he sees that the Government has supplied nothing but mill cloth. His suspicions are further increased, and the home production which he had started begins to break down in this illogical atmosphere.

If the Government wants the peasants to be self-sufficient in Khadi, it must itself become a self-sufficient user of Khadi, which means that it should start Province-wide Khadi production of both cotton and wool, sufficient for providing Khadi to all Government employees to whom it supplies free uniforms. At the same time Government hospital requirements, Circuit House and Rest House requirements, and all such Government equipped places, should be provided with Khadi and nothing else. This would be logical, and would produce a tremendous psychological effect on the public mind, and thus would make the village homes hum with the rhythmic beat of the carding-bow, the sweet song of the spinning wheel, and the merry click of the shuttle as it is thrown from side to side.

It is programmes of this kind which will save the Congress from disintegration. The sweeping victories which have just been witnessed in U.P. show us that the masses still look to the Congress with faith and hope. They associate the Congress with Bapu, and Bapu's constructive ideals. If the Government does not make a tremendous effort to live up to those ideals the prestige, still clinging to it,

will fall away in the coming years. The glory of Bapu's blessings can only remain with us if we try our best to deserve them.

Mira Behn

Hon'ble Pandit K.D. Malaviya
Minister for Development, United Provinces
Lucknow.

192. *From Frank Anthony*

16 Western Court
New Delhi
14th July 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I address you on behalf of the not negligible number of Anglo-Indians in the Mysore State.

As you are perhaps aware there is a large concentration of Anglo-Indians in the Kolar Gold Fields and even more so in Bangalore.

My community is bitterly disappointed at its complete exclusion from the constitution-making activities of the State. My community, under the former Constitution, had one representative in the Mysore House of Representatives. In the recently formed Constituent Assembly it has been given no representation at all on the ground that it is numerically too small. But I venture to suggest that the numerical yardstick is not the only norm in granting representation to minorities. The opportunity to a minority to state its case is a valid axiom in political theory and organisation.

The Congress Party was generous enough to grant my community, although comparatively small numerically, not 1 but 3 seats in the Indian Constituent Assembly. The proportion of my community to the total population is smaller than the proportion of Anglo-Indians in Mysore to the total State population.

After having completely excluded my community from the State Legislature, it was confidently believed that it would at least receive representation on the Minorities Committee and also on the Fundamental Rights Committee. It has now transpired that my community has also been completely excluded from these two Committees. I should have thought that at least the Minorities Committee, as its name suggests, would be used to give an opportunity to all the recognised minorities to place their case before the constitution-making body.

The complete denial of representation to my community has naturally created not only disappointment but considerable anxiety. The thousands of Anglo-Indians in Bangalore and Kolar Gold Fields feel that by their exclusion it is inevitable that the interests of the community will be completely lost sight of as there is no one, with the necessary knowledge of these interests, to state them

before either the Minorities Committee or the Fundamental Rights Committee.

In the Indian Constituent Assembly the Congress leaders at the Centre were much more appreciative of the position. Apart from the 3 seats in the Constituent Assembly, the Anglo-Indian community was given 3 seats in the Advisory Committee on Minority Rights. If there was no such thing as the Minority Committee, then I would have no complaint. But since all the other minorities have been granted representation, it does seem unfair that the only remaining recognised minority in the State should be completely excluded.

I shall be deeply grateful if you will be kind enough to use your good offices with those responsible for the setting up of these Committees, to grant my community representation, particularly on the Minorities Committee. (I have addressed the Chief Minister of Mysore in this matter, but regret to say that I have not received even the courtesy of a reply.)

Thanking you and with my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Frank Anthony

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
New Delhi.

193. *From Harbans Lal*

EAST PUNJAB STATES UNION CONGRESS

Patiala
15th July 1948

Respected Doctor Sahib,

I hereby confirm our telegram sent to you earlier in the day.

When the States Ministry formula was discussed at Sardar Patel's residence yesterday, we were given to understand by Mr. V.P. Menon that both the groups, Lok Sabha and Akali Dal, were agreed to accept the underlying principle of the formula. It was with this background in view that you issued your mandate making it obligatory upon us to agree to the proposal. But yesterday late at night the Akali Party sent a written note to S. Patel in Motibagh Palace declaring their refusal to accept the basic principles embodied in the formula. Their refusal created an altogether new situation.

The Union Congress in the circumstances refused to form a Coalition Ministry with the Lok Sabha the political character of which it had been denying all through the talks. The Union Congress demanded its right to be called upon to form a broad-based Ministry enjoying confidence of all sections of the people. At one stage during the course of the talks last night the task of selecting a Premier was entrusted to a Committee consisting of S. Udham Singh Nagoke, Giani

Gurmukh Singh Musafir and Shri Brish Bhan, but before they could reach any conclusion the Maharaja intervened and said that no one not enjoying his confidence was acceptable to him as the Prime Minister. He insisted upon either S. Giani Singh, at present Revenue Minister, Patiala State, and the maternal uncle of the Patiala Ruler, or S.B. Ranjit Singh, a Government Contractor of New Delhi, being taken as the Premier. The Union Congress representatives nevertheless refused to agree to anyone of these two persons. At 6 a.m. the talks broke down and the inauguration had to be gone through without the announcement of a popular ministry.

The Maharaja's game seems to be to have a Union Cabinet of his liking under a Prime Minister of his own choice. If he would not find it practicable to have such a puppet ministry, he would rather have no ministry at all. The States Ministry and yourself as the supreme head of the Congress organisation should bring pressure upon him for a speedy transfer of power to the people at the earliest.

Yours faithfully,

Harbans Lal

General Secretary

E. Punjab States Union Congress Committee

Dr. Rajendra Prasad

President, Indian National Congress.

194. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Staff Qrs. No. 1, Ranchi

C/o Postmaster, Ranchi

The 16th July 1948

My dear Rajendra,

In my last letter, which was despatched to you registered (but of which I have not yet received the postal acknowledgement showing its delivery to you), I mentioned about my illness and also about restoration to my normal health. Afterwards I received your loving enquiries about my welfare, and I sent you a telegram on the subject, which I trust was delivered to you. As Mahamayaji had also written to me, from your house, making similar enquiries, I requested you in my telegram to inform him that I was well. I continue to be in fairly good health for my age; but Ranchi is now becoming much too wet, and yesterday it rained for 24 hours, with the result that I could not go out even for a few minutes for a little fresh air.

However, I am glad to tell you that the mission which brought me here has at last been finished only today, when I dictated the last few paragraphs on the eternal Bengal-Bihar problem. The memorandum has become bulkier than I

expected it to be, but I have sought to cover in it not only special cases of the four districts concerned in the controversy, but also the general aspects of the question, after having carefully studied all the literatures available to me from various sources. I am sending you now a complete copy of the Memorandum.

I know you are very busy. You always are very busy, and are likely to remain so; but I earnestly hope that you may kindly spare time to go through it carefully, and to note down in the margin all that may strike you for being incorporated in the text, or any alterations. I have also given a complete copy of it to Krishna Ballabh who alone (of all the eight Ministers) takes some interest in anything outside his own special sphere of work, and he has promised to discuss the Memorandum with me at Patna on his return from Delhi. But I earnestly hope that you also may kindly spare a little time to note down your suggestions for improving the Memorandum wherever you may consider it necessary to do so. I expect to return to Patna by the 22nd July at the latest. I shall, therefore, be grateful to you by your kindly returning in a registered cover the Memorandum to my address at Patna.

Trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Ever yours affectionately,

S. Sinha

P.S. When you were at Patna in December last, I introduced to you at my house Shri Bhagwan Behary, son of Shri Sohan Lal Saheb, a leading lawyer of Aligarh. He lately wrote to me for a letter of introduction to you. I told him that you were not likely to forget him, and no other letter was necessary. But I sent him my printed card with a few words added on it in my own hand. Probably he will see you at Delhi with that card. I have thought it best to give you the information in advance.

S: Sinha

195. *To Mira Behn*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 16, 1948

My dear Mira Behn,

I have received your letter dated 11th July together with its enclosure. You have done well to raise the question of Khadi with the U.P. Ministry. There is no doubt that the position of the Government in this matter is illogical. Some Provinces have made it logical by dropping Khadi altogether even from their

programme. We should be grateful that U.P. is at least paying lip homage. I hope your letter will have some effect.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shrimati Mira Behn
Ashram, Pashulok
P.O. Rishikesh, Dist. Dehra Dun
Uttar Pradesh.

196. *To Govind Ballabh Pant*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 16, 1948

My dear Pantji,

Many thanks for your letter dated the 10th July and for the cutting containing Hafiz Ibrahim's statement regarding certain charges made against him by Seth Damodar Swaroop. I have also received your note about the complaints made by Socialists. There is nothing more to be done about these things.

As regards the collections to the Memorial Fund, I am afraid the progress is not at all satisfactory in any part of the country. Congress people have not been taking the interest that was expected of them and so things are more or less at a standstill. I do not know what instructions I can give you. The thing has to be done and you will yourself think out how best it can be done. It is easy to make complaints and criticise but it is very difficult to organise and produce results. I hope you will so manage things in your Province that it may be in a position to give a good account of itself. I will write to Tandonji to take up this work and mobilise the Congress organisation for this purpose but whatever the Congress organisation does your active support will be absolutely necessary.

I have myself been feeling very worried about the situation that has been created on account of the rise in prices of foodstuffs and cloth and other articles. I mentioned the matter at the last meeting of the Working Committee to which the Ministers of the Central Government were invited. They explained the situation but there is no suggestion either on our side or theirs as to what is to be done to meet the situation.

I shall be looking forward to seeing you on the 19th when a conference is going to take place to consider the relief and rehabilitation of migrants from Pakistan. I trust we shall find time to talk over some important matters.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier, United Provinces
Naini Tal.

197. *From R.L. Bainwal*

ALL INDIA SWEEPER LABOUR FEDERATION

Balmiki Mandir
Reading Road
New Delhi
17th July 1948

Dear Sir,

I wrote on the 13th March 1948 to the Prime Minister Pt. Nehru to allow Shri Baghwan Din, M.L.A. (U.P.), Member, Constituent Assembly (India), and who is General Secretary of All India Mehtar Labour Federation, to attend the last budget session of the Constituent Assembly (Legislature). As the next session of the Constituent Assembly is scheduled to be held in August next, I again wrote to the Prime Minister asking for permission to attend this session. Now I have got a reply from him and I am advised to approach you in the matter. I, therefore, request you kindly to consider our request and permit Shri Bhagwan Dinji, M.L.A. (U.P), M.C.A., to attend the forthcoming session of the Constituent Assembly.

An early reply is requested.

Yours faithfully,
R.L. Bainwal
Joint Secretary

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Constituent Assembly
New Delhi.

198. *To the Premiers of all Provincial Governments*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

No. P.B. 12/2813

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
17th July 1948

Dear Friend,

Complaints have been received from some places that Congress workers interfere with local officers of the Government in their work of administration. On the other hand complaints are made by Congress workers of lapses on the part of the Government officials in the discharge of their duties. I am asking Congress workers not to interfere with local officials but to bring any cases which

deserve notice before the Head of their own organisation to take them up with the Provincial Government. I need hardly point out that there are very serious grievances against many officials which need to be investigated and set right by the Government. While it is necessary to maintain discipline amongst officials and such discipline is damaged by interference with them by public workers, it is equally necessary that some procedure should be evolved, apart from the strictly legal and formal procedure of taking such cases to the court, whereby the Government is enabled to look into them. This is necessary as much from the point of view of the Government as of the people. I will, therefore, suggest that some liaison should be established between the Provincial Government and the P.C.C. which could help smoothen matters and remove legitimate complaints of the public. It should be also possible to extend this system of liaison to districts between the district officials and the District Congress Committees and also to other organisations than the Congress. The agency may also be utilised at provincial level for mutual consultation to evolve the policy and administrative schemes of the Ministry. The procedure contemplated is not free from difficulty but is necessary. The Members of the Legislature are undoubtedly suitable media but they are few and complaints arise all over.

I hope it would be possible for you to accept this proposal and take steps in that behalf. If you think any other procedure will be more effective I shall be glad to consider that.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad
President

Copies forwarded to all Provincial Congress Committees and Regional Councils.

199. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
July 19, 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

You will recollect that in January last when Mahatma Gandhi was fasting a Central Peace Committee was formed for establishing communal harmony in Delhi and elsewhere. The Committee started working immediately and the things which it has been tackling are the creation of a sense of confidence in the minority community, removal of causes as far as possible of bitterness among the large body of immigrants who have come from Pakistan, and the creation of a general atmosphere of trust and confidence. Its work received considerable fillip when Shanti Dals were established in June last when all kinds of wild rumours were afloat and there was a general apprehension of an outburst of communal trouble.

You were good enough to place at the disposal of the Committee Rs. 10,000 at the time it was established. As the work expanded in June last the expenditure has also gone up very much. The expenditure by the Shanti Dal in June came to Rs. 6,319/15/9 and the budget for July and August comes to 10,000 per month. I am afraid it is not possible for me for various reasons which need not be recounted here to raise any funds from private and non-official sources. I have, therefore, to fall back on Government assistance and request that a suitable grant be made to enable the work to be carried on. The Government machinery operates and maintains peace but I think the creation of a proper atmosphere which makes police and military intervention rare, if not unnecessary, is no less important and deserves Government support. I shall be obliged for an early decision.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

200. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 1030-PM

New Delhi
The 19th July 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I do not know if the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Committee is collecting recent publications about Gandhiji. I think it should do so in a proper and methodical way. Someone should be put in charge of it so that books, Press cuttings, etc., should not be lost. I have got several thousands of telegrams which I received after his death. These might well be kept by the Memorial Committee for the future Museum.

I have received a letter from our charge d'affaires in Brussels, Badr-ud-Din Tyabji, and he has sent me a booklet which has been published in Brussels and Paris. It is in French. I am sending it to you for your Committee's collection.

I have received the manuscript of a book written by an American about Gandhi's philosophy. He has asked me to read it and send my comments. I fear I have no time whatever to do this. Would you care to glance through it? If so, I shall send it to you.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

201. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
21st July 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

A deputation of eight members of the Select Committee on the Hindu Code led by Bakshi Tek Chand have just seen me. They have represented that the proposed Code introduced some very fundamental and far-reaching changes in the Hindu Law as it has been accepted by the vast majority of Hindus up till now. The Bill has never been considered at a meeting of the Party and it was put up for second reading on the last day of the last session during the last hour and was referred to a Select Committee. Fifteen members out of 20 have been attending the meetings of the Select Committee and a majority of them who came to see me feel that it would not be proper to rush this Bill through the next session of the Assembly. Apart from the merits of the measure and apart from the considerations above mentioned, my feeling is that a measure of such far-reaching consequences, about which there is much difference of opinion, need not be passed by the Constituent Assembly sitting as a Legislature. In the first place, the present Legislature is a make-shift arrangement. The Constituent Assembly was never intended to be a Legislative Assembly but to avoid fresh elections it was converted into a Legislative Assembly. Whatever safeguard there was against hurried legislation on account of a second chamber has also been removed. The Committee held enquiry, recorded a good deal of evidence and that evidence was overwhelmingly against the proposals generally which now constitute the clauses of the present Bill. The evidence has been analysed in great detail in the note of dissent by Dr. Dwarka Nath Mitter. The matter has never been placed before the electorate and I am not aware that any propaganda has been carried to convert the bulk of the people in favour of the provisions of the Bill. In these circumstances, it seems to me that it would not be in keeping with the fundamental principles of a democratic Assembly to undertake legislation for effecting basic changes in the personal law of a vast majority of the inhabitants of this country which has been accepted and followed ever since the days when the Smritis were composed or at least when the commentaries were written on them. I would, therefore, suggest that this subject might very well form one of the items of our election manifesto and the electorate should be consulted at the next election before it is placed before the Legislature. In any case, the present Constituent Assembly sitting as a Central Legislature should not take it up, and rush it as was done at the time of the second reading. I have given my own reactions to the situation that has arisen and would request you to consider the question from this aspect.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

202. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 1033/PM

New Delhi
21st July 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have your letter of July 19th about the grant for the Central Peace Committee. I am sending it on to the Finance Minister with a recommendation that a grant of Rs. 15,000 might be made to the Committee. Normally speaking it is a little difficult to know under what head this sum will fall but I hope that some means will be found.

In looking through the accounts that you have sent, it seems to me that there is room for economy. It is far better to economise a little at this stage than to wind up many of your activities at a somewhat later stage. Perhaps someone could look through the various items of expenditure and try to reduce them wherever possible. I think this is definitely possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi.

203. *From Shanmukham Chetty*

No. 5539-PSF/48

New Delhi
July 22, 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

I have considered your suggestion of issuing an Ordinance on the lines suggested in your letter of the 18th July 1948. My own feeling is that Companies whose Articles of Association do not specifically empower the Directors to contribute towards public charities may nevertheless be able to get over the difficulty by means of a special resolution passed at a shareholders' meeting. On general grounds of policy, this course would be preferable to the method of Ordinance. Firstly, a donation made with the express consent of the general body of shareholders has a greater psychological value than one decided by directors or managing agents. Secondly, we ought perhaps to be careful not to give room for any suggestion of a suspicion that Government is attempting to shortcircuit the shareholders, despite the public announcement that contributions would be received on a voluntary basis only. Thirdly, as you might be aware, it was not

without a good deal of criticism that my proposal to encourage these donations by means of tax concessions was accepted by the Legislature during the last Budget Session. I therefore feel that on the whole it would be inexpedient to resort to an Ordinance just now, especially as it would be difficult to justify it on any ground of emergency.

2. If, however, you still consider that an Ordinance ought to be issued, I shall discuss the matter further with the Prime Minister. In any case, this question will be dealt with by the Ministry of Commerce as it relates to an amendment of the Companies Act.

Yours sincerely,
Shanmukham Chetty
Finance Minister

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

204. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 1061-PM

New Delhi
July 22, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

The Madras Premier came and told me that the Parliamentary Board had issued some directives to him in regard to the Zamindari Bill in Madras. These directives related to the payment of additional compensation. I do not know the nature of this compensation or the instructions issued. But according to the Premier this would now make it practically impossible to pass the Bill.

I fear that we, both as Government and as Congress, have been very much amiss in regard to the abolition of zamindari in the Provinces. We have not cared to go deep into the question in order to evolve a feasible and uniform policy. We have only criticised what the Provinces have done. Our criticisms have no doubt been right. Nevertheless, we have been landed in a position which is extraordinarily difficult and which may lead us to an agrarian crisis in some Provinces. High expectations have been raised everywhere and if these are frustrated, there will be trouble.

If, as the Madras Premier said to me, the compensation which the Parliamentary Board has directed him to give, is beyond the capacity of Madras to give, then it is not possible for the Zamindari Bill to be proceeded with. It may be that the same difficulty might have to be faced by other Provinces. This raises very vital issues because it affects the Congress programme and the assurance given by us to the public. The matter is so important that it might have to be

considered by the A.I.C.C. itself. In any event the Working Committee should consider it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

205. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 1063-PM

New Delhi
July 22, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st July about the Hindu Code. I do not exactly remember whether this matter was put up formally before the Party or not. But I have a distinct recollection of repeated discussions about it in the course of the last year and a half. Few contemplated pieces of legislation have been so thoroughly thrashed out and publicly discussed than this Bill. It has been considered by the Cabinet on more than one occasion. It has been considered by the Executive of the Party certainly. There is no doubt that a large section of orthodox opinion opposes it. There is also no doubt that the so-called socially progressive Hindus are anxious and eager for it. The matter has been pending for a very long time and has been repeatedly postponed. At last an assurance was given that it would be introduced in the last session and taken up in the next. The Bill was introduced. To try to smother it now or postpone it would create some kind of a crisis and the reputation of the Congress would undoubtedly be affected. As it is, it is being stated widely that the Congress is a reactionary and a very conservative body now, which dares not face any radical change. We are called not only socially reactionary but a police state which suppresses civil liberties and the like. In this context if we push out this Bill, we shall not only confirm this growing conviction of our excessive conservatism in India but would also go down in the mind of foreigners outside India. I confess I do not see how in these circumstances we can go back on what we have done after much argument and debate and not proceed with the Bill.

Apart from these considerations, the question is one of merit. The Cabinet has declared itself in favour of it twice at least. Personally I am entirely in favour of the general principles embodied in it. Are we therefore to give up something that we consider right and on which so much labour has been spent, because some people object?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

206. From M.O. Mathai

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT

No. D/S/4010

New Delhi
22nd July 1948

My dear President,

I enclose a copy of the minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund held on Sunday the 18th July 1948 at 10 a.m. The Prime Minister has seen the minutes.

Yours respectfully,
M.O. Mathai

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Enclosure:

(Minutes of the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund on Sunday, the 18th July 1948, at 10 a.m.)

PRESENT

The Prime Minister (Chairman)
The Deputy Prime Minister
The President, Indian National Congress
The Finance Minister
Shri P.A. Naraiwala (in the absence of Shri Romi Modi)
The Private Secretary to the Prime Minister (Shri M.O. Mathai).

MINUTES

The Prime Minister presented the Statement of Accounts as on 15th July 1948 and remarked that contributions so far received were spontaneous without any organised effort for collection. He briefly explained the background of each item of expenditure. The items of expenditure were sanctioned by the Board of Trustees. It was pointed out, however, that a clear differentiation should be made between grants-in-aid and expenditure for which detailed accounts and vouchers would be maintained for auditing purposes. It was decided that monies given to properly constituted organisations might be considered as grants-in-aid as their accounts are subject to audit.

It was decided that the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund, while in the present context might inevitably be largely utilised for relief of refugees from Pakistan, should be treated as a permanent Fund available for relief of every kind of distress in the country.

The Board decided that without prejudice to the free exercise of the Chairman's discretion in an emergency, normally Rs.10,000 should be the maximum the Chairman could spend without reference to the Board.

Shri M.O. Mathai was appointed Secretary of the Board of Trustees and Ex-officio Secretary of the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.

It was decided to ask for the return of Rs.10,000 given to the Secretary, Ministry of Relief & Rehabilitation, for the relief of Gujrat train tragedy and Parachinar sufferers, as the urgency of the need for non-governmental assistance is over.

The Board considered the correspondence between H.E. the Governor-General and the Prime Minister in regard to contribution to the United Council for Relief and Welfare. It was decided to contribute Rs.50,000 as grant-in-aid to this organisation from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund.

The request from the President of the Sind Congress Refugee Relief Committee for a further grant of Rs.100,000 was considered. The Board was of the opinion that affording such relief by way of loans was primarily the concern of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation. The Board directed that a consolidated Statement of Accounts should be obtained from Dr. Choithram Gidwani, in addition to vouchers for Rs.50,000 already given to him.

A letter from Shri Govind H. Seth, Relief & Rehabilitation Commissioner, for a grant of Rs.100,000 for providing sewing machines to refugee women comes under the category which does not conform to the technical formalities laid down by the Government of India and hence could not be governmentally assisted. The Board sanctioned Rs.25,000 for this purpose with condition that the amount should be given as grant-in-aid to recognised relief organisations and cooperative societies which are willing to investigate individual cases and rehabilitate such women by providing sewing machines, tailoring accessories and allied equipment.

The Board considered a request from the Bahawalpur State Relief Committee for financial assistance. The Board was of the opinion that this request was in the same category as that from the Sind Congress Refugee Relief Committee and should be treated likewise. The Congress President, however, agreed to investigate the case with a view to ascertaining the feasibility of providing assistance from the Congress Relief Fund and the United Council for Relief and Welfare.

The Board considered a request from the Indian Cooperative Union Limited and it was decided to give an initial grant-in-aid of Rs.5,000 to this organisation and a further grant of a similar amount after ascertaining the progress of the work done by the organisation.

207. To Jawaharlal Nehru

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 23rd July 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I enclose a letter which I have received on behalf of friends and relatives of Hindu and Sikh prisoners in Pakistan. It appears from it that some 800 Indians are still prisoners in Pakistan whereas on our side we have about 100 Muslims in prison. They apprehend that if Dr. Quereshi is executed, the life of these Indians will be in jeopardy and they have shown me some letters from which it appears that reprisals are apprehended. I do not know what arrangement about the exchange of prisoners was but I understand that we have restored a much larger number than we have obtained from the other side and particularly very important and influential men have practically all been restored whereas there are a good many men of that type who are still there. I read a news item in the Press also or perhaps I heard it on the radio that there was an arrangement between our Government and Pakistan Government that Dr. Quereshi would not be executed unless and until there has been consultation between the two Governments. The people saw me in deputation and are genuinely apprehensive that although Dr. Quereshi has been regularly tried and the death sentence has been confirmed by the High Court and although there has been no trial as yet and consequently there is no sentence of death on any one of our Indians in Pakistan, many of them would be executed by way of retaliation of Dr. Quereshi's death if the sentence against him is carried out. I hope, the matter has not escaped the Government's attention and attempts should be made to secure restoration of Indian prisoners from there. You will recollect that it was because Dr. Gopichand apprehended that the Pakistan Government would not take a reasonable view, that he was not willing to restore the juvenile prisoners and he carried out your instructions reluctantly. Now that they have got 800 men as against 100 they can very well adopt an uncompromising attitude even if a man has been duly tried and convicted. As you are leaving for South tomorrow morning, I am also writing to Shri Gopalaswamy Iyengar, who, I believe, deals with these matters and, I hope, you will leave such instructions as you think necessary in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Copy with a copy of the enclosure to Shri N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar, for necessary action.

Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India, New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(A letter from Chamanlal on behalf of the friends and relations of Hindu and Sikh prisoners in Pakistan)

7 Ganesh Place
New Delhi
23 July 1948

Sir,

During the communal disturbances in West Punjab a large number of innocent Hindu/Sikh gentlemen were arrested and detained and kept as undertrials in various prisons. Their offences were not disclosed to them.

Several inter-Dominion conferences decided to exchange undertrials and prisoners on both sides, and some of these were actually exchanged in April 1948. Even the assassins of B. Labh Singh, the renowned Congress worker of Jullundur, on whom sentences of death were confirmed by the High Court, and other proved culprits, were sent to Pakistan by the East Punjab Government. The West Punjab Government however resiled from its solemn agreement and refused to send important and high-placed undertrials, and transferred them from Lahore to Rawalpindi Jail, with the result that 800 Hindu/Sikh undertrials and prisoners were left in Pakistan and only 100 Muslims in East Punjab jails.

Since this the West Punjab Government has increased its demand and insisted on the release of all prisoners in Delhi Province as well. Responsible Ministers and other members of the West Punjab Government have since declared altogether unequivocally that they were not prepared to release any undertrial or prisoner unless and until Dr. Quereshi, on whom the sentence of death has been recently confirmed by the High Court, be also released by the Indian Government. They also aver that as a reprisal for Quereshi's life they would hang all Hindu/Sikh prisoners on their side.

The Pakistan Government, past experience shows, is capable of doing such acts of cruelty.

May we humbly beg to pray that the life of 800 Indian nationals be not put in jeopardy for hanging one person—Dr. Quereshi. But a proper guarantee for abiding the agreement be taken from the West Punjab Government. Lessons of past be not forgotten.

The grievance of the nationals in jails of Pakistan is that their own Government has not done anything to save their lives. Many of them are and were first-rank Congress workers and their only offence is that they were Congressites.

Yours faithfully,
Chamanlal

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
New Delhi.

208. *To Shankarrao Deo*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 23rd July 1948

My dear Shankarrao,

I have noticed the prominent part that you have been taking in the movement for the creation of a separate Maharashtra Province. I have felt that we in the head office of the Congress may not associate ourselves so prominently with any sectional movement, as it is likely to create misunderstanding in the public mind. Of course we all have our views on all questions of public importance but on a controversial subject it is not desirable for us to give expression to them in public and particularly it is not at all fair to associate ourselves prominently with a movement of this type. I thought I had better draw your attention to this aspect. I may tell you that I have heard people commenting on this. We shall of course talk about it when we meet next.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

209. *From Baldev Singh*

17 Tughlak Road
New Delhi
23rd July 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

As you will remember, I gave you a brief account of the peculiar problems of the Sikh community in my letter to you dated the 21st of May last. The position today is that all the 23 members of the old Panthic Party are now members of the Congress bloc in the East Punjab Legislature and one of them, Gyani Kartar Singh, has been taken in the Cabinet when Dr. Gopichand reshuffled it a few weeks ago.

My hope was that by now we should have been able to persuade a large number of Sikhs to join the Congress organisation as its members. This however was not possible as about the time or very soon after the merger took place, the Congress membership register was closed. Some of us have tried to get over the difficulty locally, but rules seem to stand in the way. Meanwhile, my problems are mounting. There was, as you know, much opposition against the merger. It is still being pressed by Master Tara Singh in spite of my personal approaches to him many times. Our opponents are taking advantage of this state of affairs and those who are with us find themselves neither here nor there.

This is most unfortunate. Those of course whom I would draw into the Congress belong generally to the opposition party. While the doors of the

Congress are shut against them, they continue to be dubbed anti-Congress in our own Press and as if this were not embarrassing enough, they cannot function as Congressmen either in East Punjab or in the new Patiala Union. My object in writing this letter to you is to request you to help us. My suggestion is that the membership of the Congress organisation in East Punjab as well as in the East Punjab States should be thrown open for, say, two to three months to allow time to the prospective new members; also fresh elections should take place and new Committees might be formed in some of those places where enough new members are forthcoming.

My view is—and I am supported in this by a number of influential friends in all parts of these Provinces—that if we are in a position to enrol members for the Congress, it will enthuse my people very greatly and, what is more important, we shall be freed from the existing embarrassments and enabled to face our opponents with confidence.

May I repeat the request I made in my letter referred to, that the Sikh case needs careful and sympathetic handling. I know our many failings; there is strong opposition to my endeavours in our ranks; we are objects of taunts and suspicions from both sides. In spite of everything, we are determined to stand by the Congress and to husband our humble resources for regenerating the life of a stricken and mauled people. I want your protection against the continuous and persistent abuse showered against those who stand with me for our common cause and I want your help to retrieve my community from the communalist ruts into which it fell against its tradition and better judgement. Your sympathy and intervention in our behalf will be of very great value to me at this time.

Yours sincerely,
Baldev Singh

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
New Delhi.

210. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
The 23rd July 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I fear you may think I am bothering you too much with letters, but the explanation of my conduct is that I feel that you are so intensely busy with so

many multifarious activities that it is my duty to relieve you, to some extent, if I can do so, by drawing your attention to important matters. I have no doubt, you must have received all my previous letters, and the packets which were sent to you from Ranchi, per registered post. I returned from Ranchi day before yesterday, the 21st July, and I am fairly well at present.

As is my habit, I am enclosing herewith a number of cuttings from the newspapers of Patna and Calcutta, and I would like to know something from you as to how far the various statements made in them are accurate. Taking cutting No. 1, which I have marked so in red pencil, I would like to know if there is the least truth in the statement that the scope of the New Provinces' Commission has been widened so as to include the question of the readjustment of boundaries on linguistic basis between West Bēngal and Bihar, as is mentioned in that cutting, which is from *The Indian Nation*. The second cutting is a summary of your statement in the course of a letter addressed by you to some advocate of the Calcutta High Court, viz., Shri Kumud Bhushan Bagchi. The third cutting is from today's *Hindusthan Standard* condemning you for your suggestion of a plebiscite or referendum. It does not need with the approval of *The Hindusthan Standard*, as it evidently thinks, that the decision of the people concerned may be to remain in Bihar, rather than to go over to Bengal. The last batch of cuttings refer to the agitation set up by a notorious Parsi member of the staff of the Tatas, who (in a speech delivered as the President of a certain Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta) virulently and vehemently attacked Bihar and Biharees in most offensive language. Now he has come forward with the aid of some friends of his, who seemed to me to be all Bengalee engineers, to carve out a new Province consisting mainly of Bihar areas, with a very small portion of West Bengal, to form a new Province of coal areas. I would very much like to know if this matter has come before you in any shape or form, or whether you have had any talk on the subject with anyone in authority. The last cutting is a small typescript from an article in *July Modern Review* which, I hope, you will find amusing enough for its stupidity.

Lastly, I would like to know whether you have received the copy of the Memorandum, which I despatched to you about a week back from Ranchi, I mean the Memorandum I have prepared at the request of the Bihar Ministry on the eternal wretched Bengal-Bihar question. I would fain hope that in spite of your numerous activities, you might have found time enough to go through it, and to return it to me at your convenience with your suggestions. I may add only this much that, as desired by you, I omitted reference to our claims, on linguistic grounds, not only against the United Provinces, but also against even the West Bengal areas, so as to make the Memorandum as non-controversial as possible; but, in the concluding chapter headed 'Last Words', I made just a reference to it without going into any details. I would also like to have your opinion whether the Memorandum should be printed and submitted by the Bihar Government to the Central Government. If not, what should we do with it?

Hoping to hear from you and trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Ever affectionately yours,
S. Sinha

Enclosure 1:

(Cutting from *The Indian Nation*, dated 19 July 1948, reporting that the terms of reference of the Linguistic Provinces Commission have been widened)

NEW DELHI, July 19.—The Linguistic Provinces Commission appointed by the President of the Constituent Assembly commenced its preliminary discussions this morning when it met for three hours under the chairmanship of Mr. S.K. Dar to hear Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, on the terms of reference of the Commission.

It is understood the Commission's terms of reference, which were originally limited to the consideration of creation of four separate provinces, namely Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra on the linguistic basis, have been widened to an extent that the Commission may recommend the creation of more than four such provinces or none at all.

It is further understood that the Commission may also be entrusted with the task of readjustments of boundaries on linguistic basis between provinces like Bengal and Bihar after the adoption of the Indian Draft Constitution by the Constituent Assembly.

It is learnt that after completing the preliminary discussions which may last for a week, the Commission will go on a tour of the Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras. During its tour the Commission will be aided by its associate members of the provinces concerned. The Commission met for three hours and after hearing Dr. Rajendra Prasad adjourned to meet tomorrow.

Enclosure 2:

(Summary of a letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Kumud Bhushan Bagchi, Advocate, Calcutta High Court)

CALCUTTA, July 21.—The Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, has denied the charge that he encouraged the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan people to destroy the Bengali language and to replace it by Hindi in the district of Manbhum and other places of Bihar in a letter addressed to Mr. Kumud Bhushan Bagchi, advocate of

the Calcutta High Court.

This was in course of an exchange of correspondence between Mr. Bagchi and Dr. Prasad on the subject, and in the letter above referred to Dr. Prasad deplored that the Bengal-Bihar controversy had assumed such an ugly shape.

Rajendra Babu in his letter to Mr. Bagchi says: "I am sorry the controversy to which you refer is already assuming an ugly shape and it does nobody good to let it grow in that way. I have not uttered one word in connection with Bengal-Bihar controversy and yet have been charged with partisanship and even my integrity has been questioned. Some friends have unearthed the report of some speech of mine delivered at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Patna last year. I have not seen the full report of the speech of mine on which the criticism is based and I am charged with encouraging the Sammelan people to destroy the Bengali language and to replace it by Hindi in the district of Manbhum and other places in Bihar. But I remember what I said and I can only say that there was nothing farther from my mind than what is attributed to me."

Rajendra Babu continues: "Anyway I have not thought it necessary to repudiate all this as everyone who is interested in public affairs must always be prepared for being misunderstood and misinterpreted.

"As regards the question of transferring portions of present Bihar to West Bengal, I am not conscious of going back upon anything that the Congress had decided or any principle which it has advocated. I do not think the difference is about the principle. It is a question of fact.

"About what area should form part of Bihar and what area should form part of Bengal, the matter must rest with the wishes of the inhabitants of those areas and the only way to ascertain their wishes is some sort of referendum or plebiscite. This, however, is not a matter within my competence. As President of the Constituent Assembly I was asked by the Drafting Committee which had prepared a Draft of the Constitution to appoint a Commission to find out the feasibility and other matters connected with the creation of certain new provinces in the South for which there has been persistent demand. I accordingly have appointed a Commission to go into that question and I am blamed for not including the question of revision of boundaries of existing provinces also. This is a matter really for the Government of India and not for the Constituent Assembly which is not concerned with the boundary disputes but which is required to mention names of the States (provinces) which will constitute the Union."

The letter continues: "I am, as you are aware, no longer in the Government of India and have had no desire to influence it in any way in this connection. The Prime Minister has on his own responsibility without reference to me expressed his Government's viewpoint for which I am not responsible. I would, therefore, suggest to you all friends who are interested in the subject not to bring me in, as I know whatever I may do will be misunderstood and misinterpreted. I am, therefore, purposely keeping silent over it. That the question is not as simple as some friends think, will appear from one fact which has recently come to my

notice. In the district of Manbhum most of the Congress workers who have carried the burden and gone through the sacrifices involved in the freedom movement are Bengalis. I have intimately been associated with them and know their worth. They have naturally kept a dominant position in the District Congress Committee and a very high position in the councils of the Provincial Congress Committee. The other day there was a meeting of the District Congress Committee where a resolution in favour of amalgamation of Manbhum with Bengal was proposed but it was defeated by a majority of the members of the D.C.C."

Mr. Bagchi had intimated the Congress President that Calcutta High Court lawyers proposed to meet him in this connection. Rajendra Babu has welcomed their proposal.—Ü.P.I.

Enclosure 3:

(Cutting from *The Hindusthan Standard* dated 23 July 1948)

We are afraid Dr. Rajendra Prasad has not helped the straightening of the tangle between West Bengal and Bihar on the boundary issue by suggesting that the question of amalgamation of certain areas of Bihar with the Province of West Bengal should be decided by a referendum or plebiscite. He has expressed this view in course of correspondence with a Calcutta Advocate who had urged him as President of the Congress to take up the matter without delay. We have great respect for Dr. Rajendra Prasad. We have given expression to our reverence and admiration for him on many occasions. We are constrained to observe however that in this connection he has acted injudiciously. It pains us deeply to point out to him that his suggestion may be prejudicial to the interests of not only the provinces concerned but of the Union of India as a whole. It appears that he has taken the criticisms levelled against him in connection with the question so much to heart that he had not the patience to calculate the implications and effects of his suggestion which, we cannot help saying, is unfortunate and unhappy. We believe he would not have been dragged into the controversy if he had repudiated earlier the report of one of his speeches which he has repudiated now. That report ascribed to him the observation that Bengal was claiming a part of Bihar because Hindi could not be propagated there as widely as it should have been done. We are glad that he has repudiated that report now and has come forward with the straight declaration that he said nothing in that speech which could be interpreted in that manner. We accept his disclaimer which we believe has done a good service to the country but we hold that the disclaimer should have come when that report of his speech was noticed in the Bengal Press.

We take exception to the suggestion of Dr. Rajendra Prasad that the boundary dispute between Bihar and West Bengal should be decided by a referendum or

plebiscite because we apprehend that, instead of allaying the controversy raging between the two provinces, it will give a new impetus to it in both provinces causing immense mischief to both. We have made no secret of the fact that we hold a strong opinion on the boundary question and feel most emphatically that the claim of West Bengal for the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar is perfectly reasonable and fair. But in spite of our firm conviction and strong feeling, it has been our constant endeavour to prevent a mass agitation on the question. That is why we have been insistently preaching that the question should be settled by means of a Commission—preferably, the very Commission that has been appointed to go into the question of linguistic provinces. We believe Dr. Rajendra Prasad will agree that an agitation on a mass scale is not desirable in the present situation in India. But his suggestion will not only give rise to a mass agitation but may even lead to a mass upheaval bringing disaster in its train.

His suggestion will, besides, encourage the Government of Bihar in pursuance of those "unclean" methods to which Sri K.G. Mashruwala, the distinguished Editor of *Harijan*, referred in a recent article in that paper. It is somewhat surprising that the Government of Bihar has already taken it for granted that the question would be decided by a plebiscite and is planning to make it sure that the result of the plebiscite should be on the side of Bihar. Writes Sri Mashruwala: "Necessarily, the party in power has better opportunities and means to organize a vote in its favour. The Bihar Government appears to take the fullest advantage of its position in this respect. It has planned out a programme, apparently for propagating Hindi in the Manbhum District, but really for ensuring that in the event of a referendum the district does not secede from Bihar." A part of the programme of this unholy endeavour of the Bihar Government is that "steps should be taken to supersede the District Board and Municipality as they become the easiest vehicle for the propaganda work of the agitators of the amalgamation movement." We hope Dr. Rajendra Prasad has read the telling remarks of Sri Mashruwala in *Harijan* on the doings of the Bihar Government and we wonder if the Congress President will still stick to his suggestion which, if acted up to, will end in total negation of justice. In view of the policy of the Bihar Government it is not difficult to understand how things were so manipulated in the Manbhum District Congress Committee as to defeat a resolution in favour of amalgamation of Manbhum with Bengal sponsored by those very Bengalees who, according to Dr. Rajendra Prasad himself, "have carried the burden of and gone through the sacrifices involved in the freedom movement." The defeat of that resolution and the consequent secession of those veteran workers from the District Congress Committee prove nothing except extreme provincialism prevailing in Bihar.

We have remarked advisedly that Dr. Rajendra Prasad's suggestion may be prejudicial to the interests of the whole Indian Union. It is not desirable to talk lightly of a plebiscite or referendum. There is no alternative to it in the case of a controversy on the question of accession to India or Pakistan, as it cannot be arbitrated or decided by a Commission. But people must not be encouraged to feel that they are entitled to call for a plebiscite or referendum on any and every

question, for it means upsetting the political equilibrium leading to disintegration. That perilous road must not be trodden lightly. There is no substantial difference between the Bengal-Bihar question and that of other linguistic provinces. The wishes of the people, their language and their cultural affinity may well be gathered by a Commission. There is no necessity for a plebiscite in this case. Indeed, we are opposed to plebiscites for setting inter-provincial disputes.

Enclosure 4:

(Newspaper report giving summary of a letter from D.C. Driver, President of the Coal Consumers' Association, to the Prime Minister of India)

CALCUTTA, July 20.—The carving out of an industrial province under the Centre covering, inter alia, (1) the major basic steel units in Singhbhum and Asansol and the coalfields of Jharia and Raniganj, and (2) the Damodar Valley and Sindri Schemes in the proposed thermal power houses in the collieries, the Mihijam Locomotive Works, and the Works for Synthetic Petrol from Coal, is suggested by the Coal Consumers' Association of India, in a letter to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Mr. D.C. Driver, President of the Association, states in the letter that the Association is very much perturbed by the Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Bill and the mining regulations issued by the Bihar Government as they will gravely affect the present and future production of coal. The Association is also disturbed by the prospect of the high feeling roused by the Bengali-Bihari controversy affecting the production of coal.

The Committee of the Association urged that in these circumstances "the only practical solution of the dangerous influences that are besetting the production of coal which has been described as the bread of industries is to carve out a new province under the Centre.

AREA OF NEW PROVINCE

The Committee consider that the new province should comprise: (1) the basic industry of coal in the important coalfields in Jharia and Raniganj; (2) the two major steel works in the Singhbhum and Asansol areas with their ancillary companies in the neighbourhood; (3) the proposed Government-sponsored and Government-owned works of paramount national utility like the Damodar Valley Scheme, the Sindri Sulphate Scheme, the Mihijam Locomotive Works, the large high-powered thermal stations in the colliery area, the works for the production of synthetic petrol from the distillation of low-grade coal, and one of the two new Government steel works, probably near Asansol; (4) the copper melting works at Ghatsila and the aluminium works near Asansol; (5) the

important railway workshops at Kharagpur and Jamalpur; and (6) the important military aerodromes existing and to be constructed near these areas for the protection of these industries of national importance.

REASONS FOR CREATION

Adducing reasons in support of the proposal the Committee said that such basic industries of national importance should be the concern of the Centre and not of a province. The state-owned projects coming within the scope of the new province are all very close to each other and will appropriately fit in this new province under the Centre, which will make for their efficient administration. The strategic importance of the safety and defence of this area necessitates that to ensure its efficient defence by air and land, both during war and industrial strikes, it should be directly under the Centre.

There cannot be one set of mining rules and regulations and sales tax to govern the Jharia coalfield and another set to govern the neighbouring Ranigunj coalfield without bringing confusion into the industry. Confusion and unhelpful provincial interest in the development of basic mineral industries will be avoided by the creation of this new province.

Among other reasons cited by the Committee are that such a highly industrialised area with potentiality of much further industrialisation requires certain administrative facilities ancillary to industrial development such as, for example, prompt action by Government for land acquisition on reasonable terms and ready to respond to an application to lay an aerial ropeway. These would be easier in a province such as that suggested.

BENGALI-BIHARI CONTROVERSY

The new industrial province will still the Bihari-Bengali controversy, because its people will be weaned from narrow provincialism as they find themselves working as nationals for the uplift of the state through India's basic industries.

Finally the Committee said that the provincial legislatures drawn mainly from agricultural and legal classes tend to turn a deaf ear to the grievances of industries biased as they are against industries in general and their wartime profits in particular especially when the industries concerned are started by Indians drawn from other provinces than their own as a corrective to such a tendency. In the case of the proposed new province embracing some of the most important of the basic industries it is necessary to put it under the Centre.—A.P.

(A cutting from another newspaper on the same subject as above)

A NEW PROVINCE ?

A proposal for the creation of a new industrial province covering the mining and industrial areas of Bihar and West Bengal has recently emanated from some

influential quarters. That the idea is being seriously canvassed and its advocates are already taking steps to get it accepted by the authorities is evident from the letter addressed to the Prime Minister on this subject by Mr. D.C. Driver, President, Coal Consumers' Association of India.

Mr. Driver suggests that the proposed province should comprise areas covering the basic industry of coal in the coalfields of Jharia and Ranigunj, the two major steel works in the Singhbhum and Asansol areas, a number of important Government-sponsored schemes such as the Damodar Valley Scheme, the Sindri Sulphate Scheme and also some other important metallurgical concerns and some railway workshops. Mr. Driver has also given a long list of reasons in support of his proposal. We have carefully gone through these and must say that we remain unconvinced by them.

The main argument put forward by Mr. Driver is that as the Government have already declared their policy to nationalise ultimately the coal and the steel industries,—the two basic industries in the economic structure of India,—it is proper that the areas concerned which contain the most important units of these industries should be brought under Central administration. Such an arrangement, according to Mr. Driver, would have great advantages from the point of view of security of these vital industries and also some administrative facilities essential to industrial development such as the acquisition of land on reasonable terms and the like. While we recognise the need for Central protection for these basic industries as well as the necessity of Central control in making available to these industries all facilities for quick expansion and localisation, we do not see why a separate province should be created for that. This objective can easily be secured by placing in the hands of the Centre the appropriate powers of control in relation to the basic industries as well as the sources of their raw materials, in whatever province these may be located. If the arguments given by Mr. Driver are regarded as sufficient for the creation of a new province, we are afraid, demands for more provinces, based on a similar set of pleas, will arise from other quarters and areas. This will lead to needless confusion and controversy. What is more, the creation of such provinces will involve a wholly unnecessary duplication of administrative machinery and would entail, therefore, much avoidable expense. Of course we admit that there is much force in the argument put forward by Mr. Driver that if the two provincial Governments follow different policies with regard to any particular industry, great difficulty and confusion may be caused. For instance, if there is one set of regulation and sales tax for the coalfields of Jharia and another set for those of Ranigunj, the coal industry so vital to our economy may be put to great inconvenience resulting in great difficulties for other industries. But cannot this difficulty be obviated by the same method we have referred to above, namely, through proper Central control? In fact the Government of India have already proved their aliveness to the responsibilities of the Centre in the regulation of mines and key industries. The President of the Coal Consumers' Association has expressed a feeling of perturbedness on behalf of the Association at the provisions of the Bihar

Zamindari Bill. But has not the Centre already taken steps with regard to the Bill, which should allay apprehensions of the mining interests concerned? There cannot be any justification, therefore, for creating a separate province in the area concerned.

Fundamentally it must be clear that new provinces can be created only on the linguistic basis and that the creation of one on any other basis will give rise to difficulties of administration which should never be ignored. To advocate the carving out of a new province on a functional basis is likely, moreover, to create an unhealthy spirit of sectarianism and even rivalry among different interests in the economic field.

With the attainment of Indian freedom, a fundamental change has taken place inside the country. It is that a Government representative of the people has been installed in office at the Centre. It is the responsibility of this Government to plan and regulate the economic life in the country. And, whatever autonomy any province may demand, no province has so far questioned the overriding right of the Centre to impose control wherever it may be dictated by considerations of national interests. Why should there be any apprehensions then that any basic industry will be injured through the exercise of the legislative power of any province or of two provinces aiming at different policies? The corrective and co-ordinating agency will always be there to control and set matters right if necessary. The existence of a strong and dynamic Centre will ensure that all the issues raised by Mr. Driver and others are satisfactorily tackled and solved without the necessity of taking an extremely dubious and hazardous step such as creating a new province. And it is clear to everyone that the forces released by freedom have already gone a long way in creating such a Centre in India.

Enclosure 5:

(Extract from an article entitled 'Linguistic Imperialism of Hindi' by Jatindra Mohan Datta in the July number of the *Modern Review*)

The adoption of Hindi as the *Rashtrabhasa* by the Congress has added to the insolence of Hindi-speaking people. At the Kankinarah railway waiting-shed, the writer asked a Behari gentleman to move off a little to make room for him several times; but he turned a deaf ear. On exclaiming whether he is deaf, he replied, "You should have addressed me in *Rashtrabhasa*." The man who has come to Bengal for earning his bread, and knows the language, refuses to speak it, because his mother-tongue, Hindi, is the *Rashtrabhasa*. We fail to understand why our sons should be put to trouble of learning Hindi, while Dr. Rajendra Prasad's son is busy perfecting his English.

211. *To Baldev Singh*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 24th July 1948

My dear Sardar Baldev Singh,

I have received your letter dated the 23rd July 1948. I have tried my best to comply with your wishes and you know the difficulties I had to face in taking Gyani Kartar Singh in the Cabinet of Dr. Gopichand. I was in the teeth of opposition of many whose opinion is of great value. But may I know what more you want me to do? If it is only a question of relaxing from the rules of the Congress to help the Sikhs in general and the Akalis in particular to join that organisation it should not be impossible to do that but I gather from your letter that you are not satisfied with the general look of things. It would therefore be better if we could have a talk and you may tell me definitely what it is that you would like me to do.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
17 Tughlak Road, New Delhi.

212. *From G.D. Birla*

Birla House
New Delhi
24th July 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

I have seen the Finance Minister's letter to you. I fear that the situation has not been fully realised. It is not only a question of Articles but also of the Memorandum. The Memorandum of Association could not be changed without the order of the Court. And the Articles have to be amended by a Special Resolution, which takes a pretty long time. If you relied on the change of the Memorandum and the Articles of Association, it will take a pretty long time and the whole work will be held up. When in 1940 a short Act was promulgated, it was with the object to expedite the matter. That is a good precedent. I do not understand the hesitation in issuing a short Ordinance.

The Managing Agents and Directors ordinarily represent the views of the shareholders. If any shareholder objects to anything he can always register his objection when the Report and Accounts of the concern are passed, but we know our position that it never happens. The Government should feel no embarrassment in this matter since request has come from the industry and the Government is

not taking any initiative in this matter. All that we want is to have an enabling provision. The Ordinance that is proposed to be issued is not mandatory. There is no question of shortcircuiting the shareholders because I may assure you that what we have suggested represents the views of the industry as a whole including the shareholders. I am sure that the shareholders would not like to give any general power to the Directors for subscribing to the charity and therefore they would not like to change the Articles or the Memorandum, but they would certainly like an Ordinance of this nature to enable the Company to subscribe to the Gandhi Memorial Fund and to no other Fund. This is the position.

Yours sincerely,
G.D. Birla

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

213. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
The 24th July 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I have received your letter No. 1063-PM dated the 22nd July 1948 about the Hindu Code. I do not propose to say anything about the merits of the measure but that is not because there is nothing to be said but [because] I consider at this stage any such discussion unnecessary, if not irrelevant. I am definitely informed the matter has never been considered by the Party. The contemplated legislation is based on the report of the Committee which recorded evidence and that evidence is overwhelmingly against the proposals contained in the Bill. Whatever discussion there has been was while the Committee was going round and recording this evidence. I am not aware that the Bill, as proposed, has been subjected to any critical examination by the public at large on any extensive scale. It is admitted that it contains proposals for very fundamental changes. I do not think the Congress, the A.I.C.C., or the Working Committee has ever given any thought either to the subject or to the provisions of the Bill. It has certainly never been included in our election manifesto. The present Constituent Assembly is hardly a body to take up this fundamental legislation for the simple reason that it has not been convened to deal with personal law of any particular community but for drawing up a Constitution for the state. I do not know when and where we made a promise or gave an assurance about the Bill. If any assurance was given to the Constituent Assembly by Government, the objection to the competence of these bodies to take up this matter at this time and during this session without any reference to the electorate and the country at large remains. I know that there are some people who want it but if you were to take the

people at large, I am afraid, a vast majority would not go for it. So it is not so much giving up something which you consider right because some people object to it but forcing something on the people at large because some consider it to be right and want it. Apart from these considerations, I might also mention that it is bound to rouse bitter feelings and will have repercussions which may affect the chances of the Congress at the next election. I am not impressed by the fact that some people regard the Congress as reactionary or conservative nor do I think that anything and everything which some people regard as reactionary or conservative is necessarily bad and everything that they call progressive is necessarily good. We have to weigh how it will be received by the vast bulk of Hindu public against what foreigners outside India and those who call themselves 'progressive' would say. My feeling is strong on the point that we shall be riding roughshod [over] the cherished sentiments of the vast bulk of our people and that without having any warrant or sanction from them simply because we consider certain things to be right.

The question of civil liberties stands on an altogether different footing. I do not think there will be any difference on that point as between conservatives and progressives. In fact, most of the so-called 'conservatives' are more concerned about it than the so-called 'progressives'. I will, therefore, request you to consider it and not allow a major crisis to be created [in] the Party and in the country on a matter which cannot on its merit claim the priority that belongs to so many other things which we have not been able to take up. In any case, there has got to be prolonged discussion and this short session which we are going to have may not have necessary time for it.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

214. To Jāwaharlal Nehru

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 24th July 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter No. 1061-PM dated the 22nd July regarding the Madras Zamindari Bill. I am myself most unhappy about the way in which the question of abolition or acquisition of zamindari has been handled by us. My apprehension is that in Bihar we are going to have a clash for which the Provincial Government will be mainly responsible but the Congress also cannot escape responsibility. As regards Madras, the position is that there has been agreement practically between the zamindars and the Ministry on the quantum of compensation which is about 12½ crores and not unreasonable. The zamindars only wanted to be assured that they will get this amount and that they will get it in

a form in which they will be able to utilise it. There is another body known as Inamdars which consists very largely of people having small holdings of, say, 8 or 10 acres each. Their rights have also to be acquired. There has been some discussion about the compensation to be given to them and a formula was suggested which was accepted here by the Revenue Minister. After going back he found on calculation that it involved payment of something like 17 or 18 crores extra and came up to have that matter reconsidered. In the course of discussion during their last visit when the Prime Minister was also here, another suggestion was made on behalf of the Inamdars and that was considered to be feasible and fair by the Prime Minister and the Revenue Minister and it was decided to leave it to them to choose between the two. The latter formula does away with any cash compensation and allows the Inamdars to retain half the land. It gives full status to the tenants in regard to the other half. It obviates the payment of cash compensation and assures full rights to the tenant where he does not possess them now. This was settled in the evening prior to the day on which they left early in the morning. The Prime Minister perhaps therefore did not communicate this matter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
17 York Road, New Delhi.

215. *From M.P. Pai*

MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY (GOVERNMENT OF INDIA)

D.O. No.2648-T(2)/48

New Delhi
24th/26th July 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

You will kindly recall that on the 18th March 1948 you had written a D.O. letter to Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee recommending a Singapore firm, 'Bharat Stores', who wanted to export textiles to Singapore from India. That D.O. letter along with an application for export permit was received by Dr. Mookerjee about the 12th of this month.

Granting of export permits is the concern of the Commerce Ministry and the application of Mr. Chandrika Prasad is accordingly being forwarded to that Ministry for necessary consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M.P. Pai

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

216. *From Sri Krishna Sinha*

D.O. No. 282-P

Ranchi
The 25th July 1948

Dear Rajendra Babu,

I am in receipt of your letter No. P.B. 12/2813 dated the 17th July. The suggestion contained in it is being examined and so I hope to write to you about it sometime after.

Yours sincerely,
S.K. Sinha
Prime Minister, Bihar

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

217. *From Jogen Saikia*

ASSAM PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

No. 601

Congress House
Gauhati
25 July 1948

Dear Friend,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. G-8/2810 dated 17-7-48 regarding interference by Congress workers with Government officials and say that the matter will be taken up as directed therein.

Yours sincerely,
Jogen Saikia
Secretary

The President, All India Congress Committee.

218. *To Shanmukham Chetty*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 26th July 1948

My dear Shri Shanmukham Chetty,

I am enclosing copy of a letter which I have received from Shri Ghanshyamdas

Birla,* in which he has shown the points regarding the necessity of an Ordinance. Since the demand is on the part of the industrialists themselves and the Ordinance is only of an enabling nature, there would not seem to be any objection for the Government in acting it particularly because during the war a similar Act was passed. Time is of the essence in the present circumstances, and if the Companies have to go through the process of amending the Articles of Association and Memorandum which, I understand, necessitates reference to Court it will be very long before any step can be taken by them. Besides, there is the further objection that the amendment once made in the Articles and Memorandum will be for all times and will give the Companies right to make contribution to charities. This, as pointed out in the letter, the shareholders may not be willing to give to the Directors although they may be prepared to make donations to the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. Considering all these points, perhaps an Ordinance is more suitable than an amendment of the Articles and Memorandum of the Companies concerned. In case it has to be taken up by the Commerce Minister, you will kindly take up the matter with him and have the thing settled as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Shri Shanmukham Chetty
Finance Minister, India.

*See G.D. Birla's letter dated 24 July 1948 to Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

219. *To Chengalrai Reddy*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
The 26th July 1948

My dear Shri Reddy,

I have received a letter from Mr. Frank Anthony, a copy of which I am enclosing.* His complaint is that in the Constituent Assembly of Mysore, no representation has been given to Anglo-Indians, although they have a concentrated population in the Bangalore City where their number would be something like 36,000. He further complained that even if no room was available for the Anglo-Indian representative in the Constituent Assembly, they should certainly have been represented on the Advisory Committee on Minorities on

which all minorities have a right to be represented, so that they might place their viewpoint for consideration. I hope the matter will receive your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Shri Chengalrai Reddy
Prime Minister, Mysore.

*See Frank Anthony's letter dated 14 July 1948 to Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

220. *From Mukat Behari Lal*

Ajmer
26 July 1948

Dear Friend,

I hereby acknowledge your circular letter dated the 17th July 1948. I have already sent a copy of this to all Congress Committees for their information and guidance. Unfortunately, there is no responsible government in the Chief Commissioners' Provinces, of which Ajmer-Merwara is one, and the system of administration here is still autocratic. The attainment of independence by the country has brought about little change in the outlook of the provincial administrative machinery which is as autocratic and irresponsible as ever. This indeed is a great source of discontent and dissatisfaction amongst the people of this Province and representations, oral and written, made by responsible Congress workers in the Province are little heeded to by the officials. The Advisory Council to the Chief Commissioner, which was brought into existence soon after the advent of the National Government at the Centre, is also helpless in the matter, and has little or no voice in the provincial administration.

So far as the masses in the Province are concerned they rightly think that it is the Congress Government which is at the helm of the affairs in this Province and therefore they are inclined to place all blame for every act of commission or omission by the Provincial Administration on the head of the local Congressmen. It is therefore essential that this state of affairs in this Province should be brought to an end as early as possible. I shall therefore request you to take early action as you deem fit in the matter and guide us as to the duties of local Congressmen in the existing conditions.

Yours faithfully,
Mukat Behari Lal
President, Provincial Congress Committee
Ajmer-Merwara

Shri Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi.

221. From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
The 26th July 1948

My dear Rajendra,

I have been deluging you with letters, cuttings, typescripts, but I do not know till now whether they have been reaching you, although sent by registered post, particularly the Bengalee-Bihari Memorandum which I sent from Ranchi in a big registered cover, but of which I have not yet got even the postal acknowledgment. I trust you have got it. I have no desire to hustle you, and I can afford to wait till I hear from you at your leisure and convenience. I am enclosing herewith only one cutting today containing the usual attack on you, on me, and on every poor Biharee, by someone, of whose very existence I was unaware till a few weeks, or a few months, back.

Lastly, I am enclosing herewith copy of an amendment, which I have sent today per registered post to Mr. Padmanabhan for being included in the list of agenda.

Trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

Enclosure 1:

(Statement by Dr. S.K. Ganguly, President, New Bengal Association)

Dr. S.K. Ganguly, President, New Bengal Association, in a statement, says: A fine distinction has been made between the formation of linguistic provinces and the redrawing of the boundaries of existing provinces. The former is supposed to be the charge of the President of the Constituent Assembly and the latter of the Government of India.

It does not follow, he says, from what the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly has stated in the footnote on page 159 of the Draft Constitution of India that the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly should appoint the Commission for a preliminary investigation. It would have been more in the fitness of things if the Government of India had appointed the Commission as action would ultimately have to be taken in case it were decided to create some new provinces, by the Governor-General of India, under section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted by the India Provisional Constitution Order, 1947.

The Drafting Committee's recommendation is that a Commission should be appointed to work out, or inquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra (province) but also as regards other linguistic regions (the redrawing of the boundaries is indicated herein) with instructions to submit its report in time to enable new States whose formation it may recommend to be created (the bracketed words are ours).

The latter portion of the recommendation "with created", does not take away the scope of inquiry into all relevant matters including the readjustment of the boundaries of provinces as linguistic regions.

If it is the concern of the Constituent Assembly to fully and correctly mention all the States which will constitute the Indian Union in Part I of the First Schedule, it is also its concern to finally describe, as far as possible, the provisions as to the administration and control of Scheduled Areas and Tribes in the Fifth Schedule, Part II and Part V, Table V, and Eighth Schedule, Part III and Part VI.

Sri Mashruwala (*Harijan*, 11-7-48) hopes "that the Commission appointed by the Constituent Assembly will make suggestions about the border districts of any two linguistic provinces". We agree.

A Calcutta daily of 22-7-48 observed: "This plea of plebiscite in the Congress President's mouth, at this late hour, sounds very much like the plea for the same in the mouth of the Nizam of Hyderabad... the Government of India resented the idea... because the plebiscite in Hyderabad, while the Nizam and the Razakars hold the whip hand, is likely to be a mockery."... "The ballot box may and the Census Commissioner can make a majority out of a minority", considering "how things are being made too hot by the Bihar Government for the Bengalees in Manbhum."

We have knowledge of a 'conducted plebiscite' in Sylhet!

In the case of Seraikella, the Government of India attached it to Orissa on its own initiative. Orissa got ready for a plebiscite as she apprehended a counter-claim from Bihar. The Government of India appointed a tribunal and then undid it. The instrument which ultimately operated was the decision of the Government of India thrust upon an unwilling and smarting Orissa and the decision was arrived at against the consensus of evidence.

INDICATIONS FOR PLEBISCITE

The best indications for a plebiscite are when (i) the people are free to record their votes and not muzzled, and (ii) two alien Governments have to settle a matter like this. A call for plebiscite to settle any and every difference among the provinces of the Indian Union will upset political equilibrium and lead to disintegration.

On January 25 last, Mahatma Gandhi advised "to determine the boundaries by mutual agreement and consent" and on May 31 last, Sri Shankarrao Deo declared, "differences can be adjusted by arbitration". The Government of India, with the help of the census figures, can redraw the boundaries as the Congress

prayed for it in 1911.

We appealed to Dr. Rajendra Prasad (while he was in Calcutta on 13-4-48) as the President of the Congress and the Constituent Assembly and he asked us to negotiate with the people of Bihar. We pointed out that time was short as then it was fixed that the Constituent Assembly would meet in May, whereupon he said that the Premiers and/or the Congress Presidents of Bengal and Bihar could meet. In the first week of July we came to know that there was little chance of the Premiers' meeting and we were advised by Sri Jagat Narain Lal to arrange for a meeting between Bengal-Bihar leaders. Bengal leaders responded to our call but not the Bihar leaders.

In this connection we refer to the following facts:

"A resolution was moved in the sitting of the Indian National Congress (1911) by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Sri Parameswar Lal and passed unanimously that the Congress prays, in readjusting the provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration. In January 1912 a number of prominent Congress leaders of Bihar clarified in detail the resolution. On 21-7-48 it appeared in Dr. Prasad's letter: "As regards the question of transferring portions of Bihar to West Bengal, I am not conscious of going back on anything that the Congress has decided or any principle which it has advocated."

If all these can be taken as embodying the stated policy of the Congress, it is for the public to judge whether Dr. Prasad's attitude to readjustment of boundaries constitutes a conscious going back upon Congress principles or not.

FACTS

Let us observe how the principles have been observed in practice: (a) On 18-8-48 there was rowdyism and assault on delegates at the annual session of the Bengalees' Association at Jamshedpur. (b) A confidential order dated 23rd October 1947 was issued to blacklist the Bengalees who were found working or sympathising with the movement for amalgamation. (c) Dr. S. Sinha questioned on 26-5-48 in the Bihar Legislature: Are the Government aware that with regard to the attempt made for disruption of Bihar, public opinion belonging to all castes and communities is emphatic and unanimous that the Government shall not yield one inch of Bihar territory? Sri Sahay replied, "Yes". (d) It has been mentioned—we have not heard of this as yet—that a resolution regarding amalgamation fell through in the Manbhum District Congress Committee; it is a fact that miracles were worked and Manbhum was declared a Hindi-speaking majority area in a packed District Congress Committee meeting. This was possible because the Bengali-speaking members' transport was interfered with and most of them were thus prevented from attending the meeting by the opposite party; it is now widely known that the President, the Secretary, and about 45 members have resigned in disgust on account of this 'conducted voting', and an ideal condition has been created for a 'conducted plebiscite'. The more so,

as some public-spirited workers are in jail or being chased about and not free to express their opinions. (e) For further exposition of the scandalous methods one has to refer to Sri Mashruwala's writing in *Harijan* dated 11-7-48. (f) On 21-7-48, it appeared in Dr. Prasad's letter: "(i) About what area should form part of Bihar and what area should form part of Bengal the matter must rest with the wishes of the inhabitants of those areas; (ii) the question of revision of boundaries of existing provinces is a matter really for Government of India; (iii) the Prime Minister has expressed his Government's viewpoint." And the Congress President as the custodian of the Congress principles did not like to interfere!

Enclosure 2:

(Amendment to the Draft Constitution of India)

For clause (b) of the proviso to Article 3 substitute the following:

(b) where the proposal contained in the Bill affects the boundaries or name of any State or States for the time being specified in Part I or Part III of the First Schedule, the previous consent of the Government of the State or, as the case may be, of each of the States to the proposal has been obtained.

222. *From Annada Prosad Choudhuri*

The Alliance Press
3 Waterloo Street
Calcutta
26th July 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

Your directive to all P.C.C.s asking Congressmen not to interfere with the day-to-day administration of this Province has been so helpful that I cannot resist the urge of writing the following lines from hospital, where I have been for the last 7 days for treatment of diabetes. By a strange coincidence, the morning paper brought also a report of a statement of a similar nature by Premier Kher of Bombay. There is no doubt that Government should have the cooperation of Congressmen and other associations of integrity but will it be advisable for Government to issue instruction to the heads of various departments to be guided by the desires of Congressmen? For instance, in the issue of licences and selection of dealers of controlled commodities should the applicants have to secure the recommendation and seal of the Congress? Of the very large number of Congressmen distributed in the hundred thousand villages—all are not of the

same standard. Instead of asking for the seal or the recommendation of the Secretary of the Union, Thana or the S.D. Congress Committees, would it not be helpful and less risky to ask Congressmen and Congress office-bearers to act as watch-dogs and critics on behalf of the Congress Government? I shall be thankful if you kindly let me know your views in this regard.

I hope you are keeping well. With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Annada Prosad Choudhuri

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress
7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.

223. *From K.A. Desai*

103 Gadodia Market
Delhi
27 July 1948

Respected Shriman Babu Rajendra Prasadji,

Pray allow me to offer to you my heart-felt congratulations for the strong directive you have issued to all Provincial Congress Committees. It was indeed the need of the hour. A pedestrian like me who has been a soldier of the Congress for the last 52 years comes across many things and some of these are so heart-rending for an old man like me. Things are not happy. I try my best to acquaint the top leaders of the various undercurrents and the strange developments taking place and then leave it to them to take action. Owing to the greedy actions of some, the whole organisation of the Congress is being given all sorts of names and it is highly necessary that such directives should be issued from time to time by our Generals. Unfortunately the connecting link between the masses and the top leaders is fading. A few men posing as public leaders use their power and position as a trade ware. I do not say that all are such but some are incorrigibles. I know you are too busy and your health is not good. The Cabinet Ministers are engrossed in serious works. But a remedy should be found out to pacify the grievances of the afflicted and create a healthy atmosphere. When people become disheartened they adopt any means to achieve their ends. The present inflation of corruption is due to this mostly. I do not wish to take up your valuable time by a long letter and I shall place my views before you from time to time and rest content that I have done my duty.

Again congratulating you, with due respect, I am,

Yours sincerely,
K.A. Desai

224. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
July 27, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have just received your letter of the 24th July about the Hindu Code. I really do not know what I can do in the matter. The Bill is before the Assembly and it is for the Assembly to consider it and decide this way or that way. It is not being hurriedly put before the Assembly. The Cabinet has considered it on at least two if not more occasions and you yourself say, the matter is one on which there is deep feeling. It is for this reason that it has been kept pending for a long time and references have been made to all public bodies interested in it. It has been discussed in the Press.

It is perfectly true that the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee have not considered it. Nor is it in the Election Manifesto. Normally such matters of legislation have not been considered by the Working Committee or the A.I.C.C. Considering that this question has been before the country for the last two or three years, if Members of the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee wished to consider them, they could have certainly done so. This applied to the Party too, which has been watching every stage of this legislation, and yet did not consider it worthwhile to discuss it at a formal Party meeting when any member could have brought it forward. The matter will no doubt come up before the Party in some form or other. On previous occasions when similar matters came up before the Party, the general rule followed was that there should be no Party mandate and members should be free to speak or vote as they liked. It is for the Party to decide what they will do in this matter. At this stage even the Cabinet cannot thus go back on its decision unless the Party so directs them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

225. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
July 27, 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I enclose a letter from Dr. Hasan together with a copy of my reply to him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

Enclosure 1:

(Letter from Dr. S.M. Hasan to Jawaharlal Nehru)

New Colony
Nagpur (C.P.)
25th July 1948

My dear Panditji,

I was glad to have an acknowledgement of my letter to you dated the 22nd May 1948 from your Private Secretary, who also informed me that as directed by you that letter of mine was forwarded to our Rashtrapati, Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

I am extremely sorry to have to inform you that though more than two months have now passed I have not yet heard anything whatever from the Rashtrapati in reply to my letter to him, dated the 22nd May 1948. I am, therefore, writing to him again.

It is now about a year that my enforced resignation took place and I have still to make my statement in respect of it in the Congress Assembly Party only to make my position clear and also remove certain misunderstanding which is still unfortunately existing.

Now that the Party meeting is to take place by the 6th of September 1948 I feel I must make that statement which is already overdue now. But before that I must have a clear finding from the Rashtrapati in all fairness to me.

I may once again repeat here that it is not the office of a Minister that I hope for but it is in fact my honour that I value much higher.

You will please excuse me when I say that I am feeling, to put it in a mild form, that I am not being fairly treated.

May I appeal to you once more to see that bare justice is done to me.

Please excuse me for the troubles I am giving you. And to whom else shall I go in my difficulties?

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
S.M. Hasan
Member, Legislative Assembly

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of Indian Dominion
New Delhi.

Enclosure 2:

(Copy of Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to Dr. S.M. Hasan)

New Delhi
July 27, 1948

Dear Dr. Hasan,

I have your letter of the 25th July.

As I told you when I met you in Nagpur, you have not suffered in the least in my estimation by what has happened. Nor do I think that your honour is in any way involved.

The matter is for the Head of the Congress organisation to consider. I am therefore forwarding your letter to him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dr. S.M. Hasan, M.B.B.S.
New Colony, Nagpur.

226. *From K.M. Panikkar*

EMBASSY OF INDIA IN CHINA

Nanking
28th July 1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I enclose herewith copy of a letter from the Secretary of the China Welfare Fund, of which Madame Sun Yat Sen is the Chairman, which proposes to start a Gandhi Memorial Rural Education Centre in Shanghai. As you no doubt know Madame Sun Yat Sen devotes her time mainly to philanthropic activities now, and she herself is very keen on commemorating Gandhiji's name by carrying on some work in conformity with his teachings. The Society which has taken up this work is anxious to get some literature in English describing how rural centres are organised and run in India on the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi.

I could not think of anyone more suitable to give them the direction in this matter. Therefore I am sending a copy of this letter in the hope that you will do

the needful and give them encouragement in what may become a live centre of Gandhiji's doctrines in China.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K.M. Panikkar

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress, and
Constituent Assembly of India
Council House, New Delhi.

Enclosure:

(Copy of a letter from Dr. Anna Wang to K.M. Panikkar)

86 Kwang Tung Road, Room 104
Shanghai (China)
July 22, 1948

Dear Mr. Panikkar,

I wish to apologise for not having answered your very kind letter earlier. I was sick and the doctor would not allow anything but the most necessary work, and when I went back to the office I found so much to attend to that I had to put everything else back. I regret that very much and I am looking forward to my vacation when I hope to have time to do all the things I cannot do now.

And the Gandhi Memorial Centre will be the most important one. And I hope very much that you will be interested in it and help us. The whole idea arose at a memorial meeting after Gandhiji's death which Madame Sun and I attended. Many of the speakers expressed the hope that something should be done to honour Gandhiji's memory in China. One of them said that perhaps we could honour his memory best by doing something to implant his ideas in China's children and mentioned Madame Sun's work for children. As usual, nothing happened then. However, a few people who were greatly interested in this decided to discuss what could be done and we have now a small 'provisionary, preparatory committee' consisting of Dr. P.H. Chu, acting director of the United Nations Information Centre, Mr. Jennings Wong, head of the IRO office, Mr. David Au, of the Sino-Indian Foundation, Mr. Shroff of the Indian Merchants Association, Mr. Doodha of the Indian Residents Association, Mr. Tannebaum and myself of the China Welfare Fund.

We have not made any decisions and we have not met for some time. But all of us have followed the discussions up by investigating possibilities and gathering

suggestions about what practical schemes could be brought up once a real committee is organised. The small committee has approved that a children's centre organised after the model of our already existing centres would be the best beginning for the Gandhi Memorial Fund. Our organisation has submitted a plan and we have also drafted a provisionary charter. One of the difficulties brought up for discussion was the place where this centre could be started. It is not easy these days to raise money to buy land and erect buildings and in addition to raise funds for installation and running expenses. Some people might have been against even starting on such an endeavour.

Ever since we took up this plan more actively I have discussed it with many of my Chinese friends. And they have helped with advice and more. One of my best friends, Mr. Chao of the Chinese Buddhist Association, and I have discussed this problem with some other Buddhist leaders and they have come through with a wonderful offer. They will give 8 mou of land and buildings in a village near Shanghai to have a rural centre called Gandhi Memorial Rural Education Centre established. Next week I am going with Mr. Chao to this village to inspect the buildings. Also, it is now necessary to call another meeting of this committee and decide on a larger committee that can really go into action. We have asked Mr. Lokanathan to join us but he has so far been unable to do so. Also, we would like to have someone representing you on this committee, since unfortunately you are in Nanking most of the time. Would you be so kind as to ask Mr. Krishnamoorthy to represent the Indian Embassy? We would like very much to invite him for our next meeting. I do not think that we can really start action before the autumn but it is quite important to get everything well prepared. We have already plans on the kind of activities this centre could handle—they would include rural and handicrafts education, literary classes for children and adults, employing the little teacher method, as well as education in public health and nutrition. It will not be easy to find the right people to run such a centre but we can use our experience and people who have been working with us to get things started. *I wish we could get some material in English from India describing how rural centres are organised and run in India, and Gandhi's ideas with regard to rural education.*

We are all very happy that you are so interested in our Shanghai work. We are moving to a new office shortly—beginning of next month—and we will have a little exhibition there. I hope you can be in Shanghai by that time.

I had a very nice letter from Pandit Nehru the other day; he invites me to come to India. I have always wanted to go to India and hope very much I will be able to go some day but there always seem to be so many things to be done here.

Many thanks for all your help and best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Anna Wang
Secretary, China Welfare Fund

227. *From Dr. Gopichand Bhargava*

D.O. No. 1495-PAP

Simla-E
29th July 1948

My dear Doctor Sahib,

Kindly refer to a telegram from Civil Liberties Union, Amritsar, to you which I return in original. It records a protest against the arrest of "its General Secretary, Dr. Dev Brat, and three other peaceful citizens" under the Public Safety Act and calls the arrests as "an insult to democracy". I have had enquiries made and the facts are that all the four persons have been arrested on account of their being R.S.S. workers who had been evading arrest. Their names were included in the list of workers who had gone underground and their warrants of arrest were issued long ago. It appears that the so-called Civil Liberties Union is a convenient creation to cloak their real character.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava
Premier, East Punjab

The Honourable Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All India Congress Committee
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

228. *From Master Tara Singh*

SHIROMANI AKALI DAL

PERSONAL

Amritsar
July 29, 1948

Dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

I wish to write to you today on a topic which is agitating the minds of the Sikhs very badly and I feel it my duty to convey to you, in a solemn way, the strength and depth of their feelings on the subject.

From Press reports available I gather that a Commission to re-demarcate Provinces on a linguistic basis has been appointed for certain areas and the said Commission has not been charged with the task of re-demarcating the Province of East Punjab on a linguistic basis, or, what is popularly current, for the carving out of a Punjabi-speaking Province.

I regret and deplore this omission which, in my view and that of my community, is a serious one. I am conscious of the opposition which certain irresponsible elements in the country are making to this fair proposal and it

would relieve me a great deal if you could assure me that it is not their vapourings which would decide the issue. For one thing, I have never been able to understand the rationale of the opposition to this our legitimate demand.

It is not denied that the Sikhs stand to gain by it. But merely to condemn a scheme because it benefits us would be neither fair nor just. That betrays a highly narrow communal mentality, besides an absurd and dangerous reasoning. What you have to look into is the basis of the proposal and whether it is repugnant to any of the principles accepted by you upon which the superstructure of the Constitution is being built. If that is alright, then it is no reason to reject it because it benefits a particular people. I contend that the demand for the Punjabi-speaking Province is in consonance with the accepted principles of the Congress and its creation does violence to none of them. Then what is it that stands in the way of the fulfilment of this Sikh demand?

Some mischief-minded people having the ears of the prominently placed Congress leaders pour into their ears the baseless accusation that the creation of the Punjabi-speaking Province is the first step for separating out on which the Sikhs, according to them, are bent. Nothing could be more baseless or naive. For one thing, it is unmerited insinuation on a people who have done so much and suffered so much for the country. For the other, these people do injustice to their brains by thinking that a small separate State would suit us. I need hardly recapitulate the shoulder-to-shoulder fight that we waged together against the British regime—unconditionally except the famous 1929 promise that after the attainment of independence, no constitutional settlement affecting the Sikhs would be enforced without their consent.

More recently during Indian independence negotiations, the Sikh diplomatic support to the Congress was complete and unreserved. The Sikhs lifted the ban on the Constituent Assembly on Congress's persuasion and resolution and during long-drawn-out negotiations in India and in London, Sardar Baldev Singh said under the very nose of the British Government that the real issue was the grant of independence; the Sikhs would settle their affairs later on. It was contended by the Congress and accepted by the Sikhs that all rights *inter se* were domestic problems and should be settled after the attainment of independence.

But now after the event for which we have paid so grievously both in life and property and for which we have deprived ourselves of the darshan of our dearly treasured holy places, if any issue is raised on our behalf, however legitimate, it is at once decried down as something 'communal' which must be condemned and crushed. I regard this as highly deplorable especially when our position and status in the future constitutional set-up of the country is still to be defined whose discussion and settlement we mutually postponed till after attainment of independence. It would be highly unfair and contrary to Congress promises to so condemn our stand. Some people thereby would be forced to consider it as analogous to the saying: "Give the dog a bad name and hang it."

No. I am afraid I cannot subscribe to such a tabooing of the Sikh stand, and I am constrained to tell you that reactions in the Sikh mind to such an attitude are

bound to be unhappy.

It was an emphasised and declared policy of the Congress leaders that there can be no manner of coercion in the settlement of rights between the communities in India. I can only hope that the Congress stands by it. The good name and reputation of the Congress would suffer heavily if such a policy is not adhered to with regard to the Sikh problem and they would be forced to conclude that they were wrong in putting any trust in the Congress word.

Apart from that I feel it my duty to tell you that the situation in the Province at the moment is not altogether a happy one. Scores of young men come to me who allege that all sorts of injustice are being meted out to them in the matter of recruitment to various appointments in different departments whose heads are Hindus. Under the easy name of merit, a most rabid type of communalism is being practised at the cost of the Sikhs which is creating a lot of discontent amongst them. If you ask for statistics of services in the East Punjab, and I strongly suggest to you to do so, it would be a most revealing index of who is practising communalism at whose cost. The most alarming symptoms at which I shudder is when a young Sikh comes to me and expresses to me his complete disgust with the present state of affairs in the Government of the country. This symptom needs study and cure. Coercion far from curing would make matters worse and the situation might then pass out of anybody's hands.

As a true friend and well-wisher, I consider it my duty to tell you frankly about all these matters.

The Sikhs are most anxious to serve the country. But they can do so effectively only if their internal problems at home are once for all satisfactorily solved and if they are trusted. By fate of God they are now living on a most vulnerable frontier. Our frontier is man-made, not God-made. Pakistan for us as you, I am sure, know, is, strategically and militarily speaking, a most dangerously situated state and it is a state in the hands of evil-minded people who cannot be said to be good neighbours. On the other hand they are waging an undeclared war against India in Kashmir. With their international friends, they can be a serious threat to India. The Sikhs with their martial culture can play an effective part in safeguarding India, its newly won freedom and the human and humane values that we stand for. I regret to say that you are not getting the best out of us even in this time of crises. It becomes you to help us to create an environment in which our national expression finds its full satisfaction. Strong in fibres and spirits, unmolested and unharassed at home, enjoying the trust and confidence of the country, we can in this age when wars are really of peoples and not merely of armies, become both a bulwark and shield in the dangerously situated outer bastion of India. The carving out of a Punjabi-speaking Province would be a step in this direction.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Tarā Singh

229. *From Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha*

Sinha Library Road
Post Box No. 62, G.P.O.
Patna
The 29th July 1948

My dear Rajendra,

Having inflicted upon you a large number of registered and unregistered communications, I am sending this letter to you through Radha Krishna who is going to Delhi tomorrow on some business with which he is connected, and the head office of which is at Delhi. He will stay there for two or three days, and I have asked him to make it a point to see you, so that you may obtain from him first-hand information about the affairs of properties in the city and in the district of Lahore. Last year you had been kind enough to write on the subject of Radha Krishna's properties, both to Sri Prakasa and also to Sardar Sampuran Singh, the Deputy High Commissioner at Lahore. So far as Sri Prakasa is concerned, he has shown to me all kindness these many many years; but the net result is that beyond writing to Sardar Sampuran Singh, once or twice, he has not been able to do anything, or to get anything done by him. In the result, it has meant my writing to and corresponding with Sardar Sampuran Singh. His work is obviously enormous, and though under the stress of your letters to him, and also of Sri Prakasa's, he has been able to give some time and attention, yet the fact remains that he has not yet been able to do anything which might be regarded by us as even remotely satisfactory. I should not be understood to make any complaint against the Sardar Saheb, but the fact of the matter is that although a whole year has passed, things remain exactly where they were before. All our income from Lahore properties is completely stopped and there seems to be no prospect of our being able to get anything in the near future. This has naturally entailed upon us very great hardship, and unless things improve soon, I confess I cannot for the life of me realise what we can do to improve our financial situation.

Last March when I was for nearly three weeks at Delhi during your absence at Wardha, I took with me Radha Krishna to Jawaharlal, and conveyed to him briefly some of my difficulties and his doing something for Radha Krishna, but with my long experience of life, I soon discovered that with all his kindness and affection for me, he was so distracted that he was not in a position to pay attention to the matter. I, therefore, did not pursue the matter; nor have I written to you till now, expecting every day that something may turn out to our advantage as the result of Sardar Saheb's efforts, but having been disappointed, I am taking advantage of Radha Krishna's going to Delhi, to send you this letter again as a reminder, and hope you may be able to do something which may accrue to our advantage. It is not possible for me to narrate the various things we

have tried to do through the medium of Khan Bahadur Muhammad Ismail (of Gorakhpur), a retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, and at present the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India. He is a very old friend of mine and a very fine gentleman. He has also been kind to Radha Krishna and written some letters to people at Lahore, but hitherto with no result worth the name. Another strong recommendation was given to me last March by Mr. Neogy, which I posted to the officer concerned at Lahore, but this has not brought any reply till now. Radha Krishna thinks that if you will kindly take the trouble to introduce him to the Hon'ble Shri Mohanlal Saxena, and if the latter takes possibly some personal interest in the matter on account of your intervention, it is worthwhile Radha Krishna's going and seeing him with a letter from you. If you think that something is likely to come out of it, you may kindly give Radha Krishna a letter of introduction to Shri Mohanlalji. That is all, I think, I have to tell you for the present, so far as Radha Krishna's affairs and my own difficulties are concerned. For the rest, I have already informed you that I have posted duly registered a copy of the draft amendment which Padmanabhan sent me. I believe you are as busy as ever and have not got a moment to spare; but I am looking forward to hear from you in due course about the various matters I have been writing to you from time to time during the last one month or so, and particularly about the Memorandum on the Bengal-Bihar question. I fear this letter has become rather long but Radha Krishna is anxious that I should put before you his difficulties at some length to enable you to appreciate the present position correctly. Hence I have done so.

Hoping to hear from you in due course and trusting all well, I remain, with my blessings and good wishes,

Ever yours affectionately,
S. Sinha

230. *From Abul Kalam Azad*

29 July 1948

My dear [Rajendra Prasad,]

Wires after wires are coming from Calcutta. From Basantalall's wire it appears that 149 applications have been accepted. This was not the decision of the Parliamentary Board. Anyhow, it appears that groupism of Calcutta has entered the All India Congress Committee's office.

Abul Kalam Azad

231., *To Abul Kalam Azad*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
30 July 1948

My dear Maulana Sahab,

I have received your letters dated the 28th and 29th instant regarding Bengal affair. According to the resolution of the Congress Working Committee 3 persons were appointed to scrutinise the applications of East Bengal members for being taken as members of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. Of these, one was the nominee of the East Bengal members who wanted to be admitted as members; the second was the nominee of the West Bengal members who were opposed to their admission; and the third was Acharya Jugal Kishore who was sort of an umpire to decide where there was some difference. It appears from the accompanying report that the decision was taken by both the parties and Acharya Jugal Kishore had practically no action as an umpire. I do not see how any objection can be raised now.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Enclosure:

(Report of the Scrutiny Committee)

116 Vivekananda Road
Calcutta
The 28th July 1948

Dear Friend,

In pursuance of your letter dated 10th July 1948 we sat as members of the Scrutiny Committee for three days from 24th to 26th July and examined in all 179 applications received in the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee office. Each and every application was carefully examined in terms of the Working Committee's resolution and of direction issued by the General Secretary, A.I.C.C., in his letter dated 22nd July 1948.

Out of the said applications 48 belonged to category 1 of the aforesaid resolution of the Working Committee, that is, from those who are residents of West Bengal and have been elected from East Bengal constituencies and who have given their West Bengal address according to the Register maintained in the B.P.C.C. office. All these applications were accepted in toto after due scrutiny.

There were 131 applications under category 2 of the said resolution of the Working Committee, that is, from those who have migrated before 30th April last and have already applied for it. Out of these applications 101 applications were passed and accepted after due scrutiny. Of the remaining 30 applications some were rejected for insufficient data and some were voluntarily withdrawn.

Our sincere thanks are due to Acharya Jugal Kishore who sat with us all the

days and helped us with his advice and guidance. Our thanks are also due to Shri Kalipada Mukherjee, Secretary, B.P.C.C., and the staff of the B.P.C.C. for their active cooperation and help.

Yours truly,

Members of the Scrutiny Committee

President, A.I.C.C.
New Delhi.

(List of members elected from East Bengal constituencies with permanent addresses in West Bengal)

District	Name	Address
Barisal	Shri Arun Chandra Guha	32 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Rabindra Nath Bose	32 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Priya Ranjan Dasgupta	128/3 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.
Chittagong	Shri Srilal Sewalka	174 Harrison Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Adwaita Dutta	8/8/9 Fern Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
	Mrs. Bina Das (Bhowmick)	17/A Ekdalia Place, Calcutta.
Dacca	Shri Radha K. Niyotia	185 Harrison Road, Calcutta.
	Dr. P.C. Ghosh	14/8 Gariahata Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Prafulla N. Roy Choudhury	19 Nandaram Sen Street, Calcutta.
Faridpur	Shri Pramatha Nath Guha	51 Kalighat Road, Calcutta.
	Dr. Pratap Ch. Guha Roy, M.L.A.	51 Kalighat Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Jyotish Ch. Maitra	10 Manoharpukur Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Prasun Kr. Dasgupta	79 Karbala Tank Lane, Calcutta.
	Dr. Suresh Ch. Banerjee	9/A Mahendra Sarkar Street, Calcutta.
Jessore	Syed Nausher Ali	66/1A Baitakhana Road, Calcutta.
Khulna	Shri Rashik Lal Das	32 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Kalidas Ghose	2/1A Ganga Pd. Mukherjee Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Satis Ch. Chakravarti	1/1/6 Nepal Bhattacharjee Street, Calcutta.
	Shri Parikshit Ch. Mukherjee Sjta. Kamala Dasgupta	27B Creek Row, Calcutta. 18 Southern Avenue, Calcutta.
Mymensingh	Shri Birendra Ch. Bhattacharjee	8/9 Harrison Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Hara Prasad Chowdhury	10 Suburban School Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Dwijendra Ch. Choudury	35/1 Huzurimull Lane, Calcutta.
	Sjta. Pravabati Bose	238/B Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.
	Shri Suresh Ch. Das	24/4 Russa Road, Calcutta.
	Shri Jnananjan Neogi	36 Wellington Street, Calcutta.
	Shri Paresh Nath Maitra	1/A Rajendra Lal Street, Calcutta.

(Contd.)

District	Name	Address
	Shri Girija Kanta Chakraborty Shri Bhupendra Ch. Mazumdar Shri Niharendu Dutt Majumdar	10 Suburban School Road, Calcutta. P-440 Kabir Road, Calcutta. 101-A Ballygunge Place, Calcutta.
Pabna	Shri Upendra Mohan Saha Shri Jyotish Ch. Bhowmick Shri Upendra N. Roy	32 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. 117/1 Rash Behari Avenue, Calcutta. 37B Peary Mohan Sfr Garden Lane, Calcutta.
Sylhet	Shri Sudhir Kumar Ghose Shri Apurba Kumar Das Shri Haripada Dutt Shri Nabakumar Bhattacharjee	17 Bosepara Lane, Calcutta. 172/37 Lower Circular Road, Calcutta. Karimganj, Cachar. Karimganj, Cachar.
Rajshahi	Shri Basantalall Murarka Shri Manoranjan Roy Chowdhury Shri Rabindra Nath Sanyal	9 Royal Exchange Place, Calcutta. 3 Hara Ch. Mallik Street, Calcutta. 46 Alipur Road, Calcutta.
Rangpur	Shri Satindra N. Guha Sjta. Bishnupriya Debi Shri Bhal Ch. Sharma	54/1/1 Girish M. Road, Calcutta. 10 Suburban School Road, Calcutta. 126 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.
Tipperah	Sjta. Labanyalata Chanda Shri Harihar Chakraborty	14/8 Gariahata Road, Calcutta. 11/C Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.
Nadia	Shri Jagannath Majumdar Shri Tarakdas Banerjee Shri Sachindra Mohan Nandy	Krishnagar, Nadia. Krishnagar, Nadia. Nabadwip.

(List of B.P.C.C. Members of East Bengal who opted for West Bengal)

District	Name	Address
Bogra	1. Sj. Satis Chandra Sarkar 2. Sj. Anil Chandra Banerjee 3. Sj. Birendra Nath Sanyal 4. Sj. Rabindra Nath Mukherjee 5. Sj. Sitaram Biyani 6. Sj. Kulada Ranjan Mazumdar 7. Sj. Amulya Kumar Saha 8. Sj. Jitendra Nath Bhowmick	93/1A Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. 44 Manicktolla Main Road, Calcutta. Hilli, West Dinajpur. 44 Manicktolla Main Road, Calcutta. 83 Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta. P.O. Nabadwip, Nadia. 135 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Vill. Krishnagar, P.O. Shyamnagar, Nadia.
Barisal	9. Sj. Manindra Mohan Das 10. Sj. Amiya Lal Banerjee 11. Sj. Sisir Kumar Dasgupta 12. Sj. Sushil Mukherjee	143/6 Sibpur Road. 50/4 Harish Mukherjee Road, Calcutta. 5/1F Bagmari Road, Calcutta. 55A Turf Road, Calcutta.

(Contd.)

District	Name	Address
Dacca	13. Sj. Rabindra Nath Sen	18/59 Dover Lane, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
	14. Sj. Sachindra Lal Kargupta	10B Janak Road, Calcutta.
	15. Sj. Amiya Kumar Rai Chowdhury	P-72 Russa Road, South Calcutta.
	16. Sj. Banamali Bhattacharjee	Konnagar, Hooghly.
	17. Sj. Atul Sen	37B Harish Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.
	18. Sj. Nistaran Chakraborty	20/1 Russa Road, Flat No. 6, Calcutta.
	19. Sj. Kiron Chandra Sen	10/1 Gariahata Road, Calcutta.
	20. Sj. Birendra Chandra Dutta	1 Dr. Bimala Charan Law Road, Bally, Howrah.
	21. Sj. Ratul Krishna Ghosh	2M Cornfield Road, Calcutta.
	22. Sj. Abinash Chandra Bose	Balurghat (West Dinajpur)
	23. Sj. Radharaman Saha	43/1B Suri Lane, Calcutta.
Faridpur	24. Sj. Nani Gopal Bhattacharjee	7 Radhamadhab Goswami Lane, Calcutta.
	25. Sj. Promatha Nath Banerjee	7 Swallow Lane, 1st Floor, Room No. 6, Calcutta.
	26. Sj. Indu Bhusan Majumdar	2 Mahesh Choudhury Lane, Calcutta.
	27. Sj. Nikhil Ranjan Guha Roy	43/1B Suri Lane, Calcutta.
	28. Sj. Santosh Ranjan Ganguly	108/A Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
	29. Sj. Bidhu Bhusan Majumdar	Russa, P.O. Tollygunge, Calcutta.
	30. Sj. Fazlul Karim Khondakar	10/3 Musalmanpara Lane, Calcutta.
	31. Sj. Jitendra Nath Maitra	47 Muktaram Babu Street, Calcutta.
	32. Sj. Monoranjan Bhattacharjee	1/5/1B Prem Chand Boral Street, Calcutta.
	33. Sj. Nibaran Chandra Paul	C/o Lister Antiseptic Dressing Co., Cossipore, Calcutta.
	34. Sj. Jibanranjan Sarkar	18 Chore Bazar Lane, Calcutta.
Jessore	35. Sj. Nagendra N. Gangopadhyay	Maliporah, Vill. Kahabaira, Nadia
	36. Sj. Bhujanga Bhusan Roy	Guptipara, P.O. Hooghly.
	37. Sjta. Manorama Bose	26 Prasanna Kr. Tagore Street, Calcutta.
	38. Sj. Sudhir Kumar Ghose	45 Hara Mohan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.
	39. Sj. Ratan Lal Majumdar	72 Sarkarpara Lane, Calcutta.
	40. Sj. Sasadhar Acharjee	4 Congress Exhibition Road, Flat No. 5 D, Calcutta.
	41. Sj. Kalipada Sarkar	26 Prasanna Kr. Tagore Street, Calcutta.

(List of B.P.C.C. Members of East Bengal who opted for West Bengal)

KHULNA

1. Sukumar Banerji.
2. Arabinda Dutta.
3. Narayan Samaddar.

4. Anil Kumar Mukherjee.
5. Bidyut Kumar Bose.
6. Parimal Bose.
7. Sudev Bhusan Ghosh.
8. Rabindra Nath De.

MYMENSINGH

9. Dasarathi Chowdhury.
10. Bhabani Prasad Chakraborty.
11. Kamala Kanta Majumdar.
12. Amiya Nath Roy.
13. Manindra Nath Sinha.
14. Kshitish Ch. Roy Chowdhury.
15. Abani Ranjan Ghose.
16. Sudhindra Sen Gupta.
17. Syamananda Sen.
18. Narendra Kishore Dutta.
19. Dharendra Ch. Dutta.
20. Sudhansu Bh. Bhattacharjee.
21. Sukhamoy Roy.
22. Bisheswar Debnath.
23. Ramani Mohan Saha.
24. Bidhu Bhusan Sen.

MALDAH

25. Ramesh Chandra Ghosh.
26. Bimal Krishna Sanyal.

NADIA

27. Nani Gopal Sinha.
28. Sachindra Sinha Roy.

NOAKHALI

29. Jagadish Majumdar.
30. Parimal Majumdar.
31. Subhamoy Sur.
32. Pulin Behari Duttagupta.
33. Nagendra Kr. Majumdar.
34. Ramprasad Majumdar.
35. Santimoy Dutta.
36. Subodh Ch. Mitra.

37. Nagendra Kumar Guha Roy.

PABNA

38. Sisir Kr. Chakraborty.
39. Makhanlal Maitra.
40. Krishnadas Saha.
41. Jyotish Chandra Nandi.
42. Jogendra Lal Roy.
43. Rabindra Nath Bhattacharya.
44. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar.
45. Bhabesh Chandra Majumdar.

RANGPUR

46. Naresh Ch. Choudhury.
47. Sudhir Roy Choudhury.
48. Gobinda Prasad Kanoria.
49. Mohini Mohan Sinha Roy.
50. Harish Chandra Choudhury.
51. Brajendra Nath Kundu.

RAJSHAHI

52. Kshitindra Nath Choudhury.

SYLHET

53. Kripesh Ch. Bhattacharjee.
54. Probhas Ch. Den.
55. Benodebehari Chakravarti.
56. Upendra Nath Bhadra.
57. Umesh Shyam.
58. Manmatha Datta.

TIPPERAH

59. Dr. Nripen Bose.
60. Janab Habibur Rahman Choudhury.

232. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
30 July 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I am enclosing herewith a note which, I request, should be read at the meeting of the Congress Assembly Party when the Hindu Code comes up for consideration. I am sending copies of it to the Deputy Prime Minister and the Chief Whip of the Assembly.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Enclosure:

(Note by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Hindu Code Bill)

The Bill codifying the Hindu Law is now before the Constituent Assembly sitting as Legislature. Apart from the merits of the measure there are certain aspects which require consideration. The Bill embodies the recommendations of a Committee which went round the country and recorded evidence. That evidence is overwhelmingly against many of the most important recommendations of the Committee. It is true that the progressive elements in the country have supported it but the entire population will be affected by its drastic provisions which introduce fundamental changes in the personal law of the Hindus as it has been prevalent in the different parts of the country. There is a large section which under the same law is governed in many matters by a customary law. That section is equally affected by the Bill. The question is whether the present Constituent Assembly, sitting as the Central Legislature, combining the functions both of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, should take up and pass such a controversial measure to which very large sections of the people directly affected are opposed. As stated above, the evidence recorded by the Committee, whose report is the basis of this Bill, was overwhelmingly against its most important proposals. The Bill has not been circulated for public opinion by the Assembly. The Bill was taken up on 9-4-1948. That day happened to be the last day of the session and that hour was practically the last hour of the session. As was to be expected, it was referred to a Select Committee, which has met and whose report may come up before the next session of the Assembly, commencing on the 9th August. The Assembly too is hardly competent to deal with such a fundamental matter. It was elected for the special purpose of framing the Constitution of India and naturally the electorate had only the framing of the Constitution before it, when it elected its representatives. By a make-shift arrangement, the Assembly so elected has been converted into a Legislature, combining in it the functions both of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, thus doing away with such safeguard as a second chamber may provide against hurried and hasty legislation. The matter is of fundamental importance to everyone who is governed by the Hindu Law. It substitutes, for the concepts and the reasons underlying that law, new concepts and new ideas which are not only foreign to Hindu Law but may cause disruption in every family. Such a proposal has never been placed before the electorate, which has never had an opportunity to express itself on it. Whatever discussion on the merits of the measure has taken place will, on an analysis, be found to consist of progressive elements being in favour and the vast bulk of the Hindu mass opposed to it.

No serious or widespread effort appears to have been made to educate and instruct the masses of people in favour of the proposed measure. Its passage, therefore, will be tantamount to forcing a measure of a most fundamental

character, introducing basic changes in their personal law, on the Hindus in furtherance of the progressive ideas of a small if not a microscopic minority, and all this is to be done without reference to the electorate and by a Legislature which is competent only for drawing a Constitution but not elected with a view to effecting amendments in the personal law of the largest community in the country.

There is, besides, no such urgency about the matter. The Hindus have put up with their personal law for a long time and may well wait till the new Constitution comes into force. It is not a long way off when the electorate may be given a chance by the parties participating in the election to express itself on it.

The Assembly will be taking a great responsibility in passing such a measure in the circumstances stated above.

Rajendra Prasad
31.7.1948

233. *To Chamanlal*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
31st July 1948

Dear Sir,

I received your letter dated 23rd July 1948 in due time and I took up the matter with the Prime Minister. It is under his active consideration and I hope a satisfactory solution will be reached.

Yours faithfully,
Rajendra Prasad

Shri Chamanlal
7 Ganesh Place, New Delhi.

234. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

No. 1078/PM

New Delhi
31st July 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of 23rd July about Hindu and Sikh prisoners in Pakistan. This whole matter has been hung up because of Dr. Quereshi's case.

I do not think the question of sending a few juvenile prisoners has made the slightest difference.

We have decided now to transfer even Dr. Quereshi but we shall only do so when it is perfectly clear that all our prisoners on the other side are coming over. In effect therefore the request made in the enclosed letter that you sent me* has been acceded to. We are anxious to expedite this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

*See enclosure to Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter to Jawaharlal Nehru, dated 23 July 1948.

235. *To Jawaharlal Nehru*

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
31st July 1948

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Many thanks for your letter No. 1078/PM dated 31st July about exchange of prisoners.

We have had so many experiences of agreements being made and not carried out. But in this case we should be careful to see that all our prisoners from the other side do actually come over before we complete our part of the agreement. It will not be sufficient to accept that all prisoners falling under particular categories will be sent over and to leave it to future argument to decide as to who fall under those categories and who do not and such other questions. I would suggest that lists should be prepared and scrutinised on both sides and trains carrying them should cross the border simultaneously so that there may be no point left for further discussion or argument. I am making this suggestion for what it is worth because I cannot be sure that any agreement will be fulfilled in spirit even though it may be in letter.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road
New Delhi.

236. *From Jawaharlal Nehru*

SECRET & PERSONAL

No. 1089/PM

New Delhi
31st July 1948

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have had very grave complaints from several Provinces about Congress M.L.A.s and District Congress Committee officials interfering with the administration. This has gone so far that district officials find it difficult to function and have complained bitterly.

Another type of complaint is that M.L.A.s etc. sit at the doorsteps of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries in search of jobs for some people. It is even said that some money is made out of this business.

I am not mentioning any Province. May I suggest to you to send a personal letter to the Provincial Congress organisations as well as to the Legislative Parties warning them against this kind of thing which must have the most serious consequences on our administration?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

237. *From Shanmukham Chetty*

No. 5672-PSF/48

New Delhi
31st July 1948

My dear Rajen Babu,

Please refer to your letter dated the 26th July 1948 regarding the necessity of issuing an enabling Ordinance to permit donations to be made to the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. The fact that the Memorandum of Association could not be changed except with the order of the Court is really an additional argument against the issue of an Ordinance and not in favour of it. I have already stated my view in my previous letter to you and after a careful and mature consideration I am still of the opinion that it will be undesirable to issue an Ordinance of the kind suggested. As however the matter concerns the Ministry of Commerce as it involves an amendment of the Indian Companies Act, I have passed on the papers to the Hon'ble Shri Neogy for action.

Yours sincerely,
Shanmukham Chetty
Finance Minister

Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

1. *From Jugal Kishore to all members of the All India Congress Committee*

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

G-11/1376

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
7th April 1948

Subject: Recommendation of the Congress Constitution Committee

Dear Friend,

I am enclosing a copy of the draft constitution* which the Constitution Committee has recommended for the consideration of the A.I.C.C. The draft embodies the decisions made by the A.I.C.C. at its last meeting in February in Delhi. In some cases, where the Committee has felt it necessary to depart from the decision, the sentences have been underlined to indicate the change proposed.

On other points, the Committee has made its recommendations after very careful consideration and it is hoped that the members will endorse these recommendations. In this draft new articles have been added to provide for the setting up of Parliamentary Election Committee and Parliamentary Board. Their functions have been defined in Article XXVII. The Committee has felt it necessary to introduce these provisions in view of the growing importance of Parliamentary activities and the necessity of exercising some kind of control by the A.I.C.C. on such activities. Similarly provision has been made to set up a Credentials Committee to scrutinise the list of qualified and effective members who will, according to the draft, be the voters and candidates for all Committees excepting Primary Panchayats. Its function and composition have been defined in Article XX of the draft.

On the question of language there has been a difference of opinion. Shri Purushottamdas Tandon does not agree with the recommendation of the Committee of making Hindustani the language in which the proceedings of the Congress organisation should ordinarily be conducted. He wants that the word 'Hindi' should be substituted for 'Hindustani'. On the question of script the Committee is of the view that Devnagari should be adopted. Syt. Tandon of course agrees with this recommendation.

On the question of formation of Working Committee of the A.I.C.C. Tandonji suggests that the members of the Working Committee should be elected by the A.I.C.C. instead of being nominated by the President as has been recommended by the Constitution Committee.

Every endeavour will be made to supply the members with a copy of the draft in Hindustani when the A.I.C.C. meets. If practicable, the Hindustani draft will

be the basis for discussion and amendments. Members are requested to bring this copy of the draft along with them when attending the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay.

The Committee had met several times to prepare a draft. Excepting Acharya Narendra Deoji, who could not attend any of the meetings due to illness, all the members met at Bombay. Sri Jayaprakash Narayan, who was specially requested to attend the meetings at Bombay, was present at the meetings held there.

The Committee has also taken into consideration the suggestions received from the Executives of some of the Provincial Congress Committees and from other persons who were good enough to respond to my circular inviting suggestions.

I am also enclosing a copy of the draft containing recommendations for the interim period, that is, for the period between the passing by the A.I.C.C. of the new constitution and the time when election could take place on the basis of adult franchise and other conditions can be fulfilled.

Yours sincerely,
Jugal Kishore
General Secretary

*Not included.

Enclosure:

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Draft Constitution—Interim Proposals

The interim proposals are based on the assumption that new elections to Congress Committees will be held as early as possible. Since the last Congress elections vast changes have taken place in the political situation in the country and a new Constitution for India is on the anvil. On the acceptance of that Constitution, fresh elections to the legislatures will be held. It is therefore necessary that the premier political organisation of India should reflect the opinion of the nation before it launches its campaign for the new elections.

The new constitution of the Congress contemplates that the organisation should be manned by 'effective members' except in the primary units, namely the Primary Congress Panchayats. At the same time it contemplates that all adult voters on the Government electoral rolls, who accept the creed of the Congress, should elect the Primary Congress Panchayats.

It seems to us that it is very difficult for the adult franchise rolls to be ready within the next six months. Neither is it possible for the Congress organisation to prepare such rolls, nor is it wise for the Congress to postpone its elections till such rolls are ready. Therefore we are making the following interim proposals which should serve the purpose:

(1) Elections to Primary Congress Panchayats should be held on the basis of the present four-anna members on the register, provided that no candidate is eligible except a 'qualified member' and an 'effective member' for Congress Panchayats and higher committees respectively.

(2) 'Qualified members' and 'effective members' should be immediately enrolled and their lists and registers prepared under Article VI of the new constitution. The list is to be prepared from among the members of the Indian National Congress who got themselves enlisted up to November 30, 1947.

(3) Credentials Committees and tribunals should be immediately elected by the respective P.C.C.s by three-fourths majority of the members present and voting, so that the list and registers referred to above may be prepared under Article VI of the new constitution.

(4) The respective P.C.C.s should divide the area under their jurisdiction into suitable units for the formation of Primary Congress Panchayats under Article VIII of the new constitution.

(5) The elections held under these interim proposals may hold good for one year only, so that fresh elections may be held after that period on the basis of adult franchise rolls as prepared by the Government.

(6) Along with these steps, the Working Committee may set a time-table for all Congress elections, including that of the President, for the next session of the Congress, on the basis that elections to all Congress Committees should be over by the end of this year.

(7) *States:* As soon as the Constitution comes into force, the Committee recommends that to enable the Congress to function in the acceding States, all primary members of the Praja Mandals affiliated either to the States People's Conference or to the Kathiawar Regional Conference be declared primary members of the Indian National Congress on signing the new creed. A list of qualified and effective members from amongst them [is] to be made according to the rules laid down for enrolling such members for the Indian National Congress. The time-limit for enrolling such members [is] to be fixed by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress.

2. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru*

New Delhi
15 April 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

You will be interested to see the enclosed report which I have received from I.G.P., Delhi. I have been seriously concerned about the return of Meos and other Muslims from Pakistan before we have completed the rehabilitation of our own refugees. I am seriously apprehensive of trouble in case this influx grows. I am afraid the proposed Delhi-Lahore train which is due to commence on 20

April 1948, will encourage this influx and aggravate the dimensions of the problem. For the present, owing to Bapu's death, feelings are subdued, but if on account of this influx any flare-up starts, it might become beyond our control. This is a very serious aspect of the whole matter and we must settle a definite policy having regard to all the circumstances of the case.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

3. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar**

New Delhi
15 April 1948

My dear Ambedkar,

I learnt from the papers about your marriage which is coming off today. Please accept my warmest congratulations and best wishes for a happy married life. I am sure if Bapu were alive he would have given you his blessings.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
Minister for Law
New Delhi.

*Professor of Economics, Bombay; called to Bar, 1923; Member, R.T.C., 1930-32; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, July 1942 to June 1946; Member, Constituent Assembly; Law Member in Nehru Cabinet.

4. *From Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
17 April 1948

My dear Sardar Patel,

I and my wife join in acknowledging your good wishes on the occasion of our marriage and in saying how very thankful we are for the same.

I agree that Bapu, if he had been alive, would have blessed it.

I hope you have by now completely recovered.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
B.R. Ambedkar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

5. From Jugal Kishore to members of the Congress Working Committee

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

7 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
17 April 1948

Dear Friend,

The Working Committee will meet in New Delhi at 8.30 a.m. on the 21st April at the residence of the Congress President, 1 Queen Victoria Road.

Yours sincerely,
Jugal Kishore
General Secretary

6. From Sri Krishna Sinha to Vallabhbhai Patel

Patna
20 April 1948

Dear Sardar Sahib,

In continuation of my letter dated 2 April 1948 regarding Surguja and Jashpur States, I enclose, for favour of your perusal, extracts from the Fortnightly Report of the Central Provinces and Berar for the first half of March 1948, and from the Abstract of Intelligence of the Central Provinces and Berar Police dated 13 March 1948. It will appear from these official documents of the C.P. Government that the reports published in the *Sentinel* were substantially correct. Shri Shuklaji, I feel, went against the understanding which was arrived at in your presence in trying, as admitted, to subdue feelings for Bihar with threats and intimidation and in consolidating his own position in these two States. We have been rather pained at this attitude of Shuklaji. Still, I am requesting Hon'ble Dr. Anugrah Narayan Sinha to discuss the question with Shuklaji at Bombay on 24 and 25 April, though naturally I expect that very little good will come out of the discussions.

I would, therefore, solicit the favour of your referring the case of Surguja and

Jashpur also to a tribunal in case our negotiations break down, and meanwhile allowing both C.P. and Bihar full freedom to do propaganda regarding merger. The officials of both the Governments may be associated in controlling the propaganda meetings so as to avoid a breach of the peace.

I may add that it will be necessary to come to a final decision about merger by the end of May before the rains set in.

Yours sincerely,
S.K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi.

Enclosures not included.

7. From A.K. Ghose to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy

116 Vivekananda Road
Calcutta
22nd April 1948

Dear Leader,

I have received a communication from eighteen (18) members of the Party to the following effect:

As the present Ministry, which includes outsiders, is not essentially Congress in character and as Congress cause and ideals are suffering endangering thereby the success of Congress candidates at the next General Election and as, further, it is not sufficiently broad-based, we consider it essential that it should be reconstituted under the leadership of Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the B.P.C.C.

I understand six other members of the Party have also written to you direct to the same effect. I have been informed by Dr. P.C. Ghosh and Mr. A.L. Poddar that although they are not signatories they also share the same opinion. I may add that I am also in agreement with the viewpoint expressed by these Party members. In the circumstances, I would request you to call an emergent meeting of the Congress Assembly Party without delay with a view to give effect to the wishes expressed by a majority of Party members.

Yours sincerely,
A.K. Ghose

Hon'ble Dr. B.C. Roy
Premier, West Bengal
Calcutta.

(True Copy)

Leader,

As the present Ministry, which includes outsiders, is not essentially Congress in character and as Congress cause and ideals are suffering endangering thereby the success of Congress candidates at the next General Election and as, further, it is not sufficiently broad-based, we consider it essential in the interest of the Congress cause that it should be reconstituted under the leadership of Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the B.P.C.C.

Deven Sen
Khagendra Nath Das-Gupta
Annada Prosad Choudhury
J.C. Gupta
Suresh Chandra Banerjee
Kamal Krishna Roy (*withdrawn*)
Charu Chandra Bhandari
Kanai Lal De
Haripada Chattopadhyay
Kuber Chand Halder, S.C.
Jagneswar Ray, S.C.
Arabinda Gayen, S.C.
Satish Chandra Chakravarti
Srischandra Nundy
Bimal Coomar Ghose
Bina Das
Shyamapada Bhattacharji
(*withdrawn*)
Harendra Nath Dolui, S.C.
(*withdrawn*)

8. From A.K. Ghose to Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy

116 Vivekananda Road
Calcutta
22nd April 1948

Dear Leader,

I am forwarding herewith a sealed letter received from three of your Cabinet colleagues and three Parliamentary Secretaries and they desire me to request you

to call an emergent meeting of the Congress Assembly Party without delay with a view to give effect to the wishes expressed in their aforesaid communication.

Yours sincerely,
A.K. Ghose
Chief Whip

Dr. B.C. Roy, M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S. (Eng.)
Leader, Congress Assembly Party
West Bengal.

Enclosure 1:

Leader,

As the present Ministry, which includes outsiders, is not essentially Congress in character, and as Congress cause and ideals are suffering endangering thereby the success of Congress candidates at the next General Election and as, further, it is not sufficiently broad-based, we consider it essential in the interest of the Congress cause that it should be reconstituted under the leadership of Shri S.M. Ghosh, President, B.P.C.C.

Ardhendu Sekhar Naskar, S.C.
Banku Behari Mondal, S.C.
Krishna Prasad Mondal, S.C.
(Parliamentary Secretaries)

Enclosure 2:

As the present Ministry, which includes outsiders, is not essentially Congress in character, and as Congress cause and ideals are suffering endangering thereby the success of Congress candidates at the next General Election and as, further, it is not sufficiently broad-based, we consider it essential in the interest of the Congress cause that it should be reconstituted under the leadership of Shri S.M. Ghosh, President, B.P.C.C.

Hemchandra Naskar, S.C.
Mohini Mohan Barman
(Ministers)

9. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just had a telephone message from Bidhan Roy. He informs me that he

has received a letter signed by about 23 members of the Bengal Assembly asking for a change in the Ministry for various reasons. Further that they want Surendra Mohan Ghosh to be the Prime Minister. Bidhan has convened a meeting of the Party for 9 May to consider this. He will be coming to Delhi for the Food Conference on the 28th of this month. I have suggested to him that two or three of the leading signatories might also be asked to come here to meet Rajendra Babu.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

10. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Harekrushna Mahtab*

New Delhi
22 April 1948

My dear Mahtab,

I have received the following telegram from Sri Babu:

KINDLY REFER MY OFFICE D O DATED 1 APRIL ENCLOSING COPY OF NOTES OF DISCUSSIONS WITH ORISSA PREMIER FOLLOWING AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TEXT OF AGREEMENT BEGINS IT IS AGREED THAT THE DISTRICT AUTHORITIES OF SERAIKELLA AND SINGHBHUM SHOULD WORK IN CLOSE COLLABORATION SO THAT NO BREACH OF THE PEACE TAKES PLACE AND ALL PARTIES GET FULL SCOPE TO PROPAGATE THEIR VIEWS IN SERAIKELLA AND KHARSAWAN REGARDING MERGER TEXT ENDS GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA AND PREMIER MAHTAB WERE REQUESTED BY LETTERS AND TELEGRAMS TO IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENT BUT WITHOUT ANY RESPONSE MEANWHILE LOCAL OFFICERS OF SERAIKELLA AND KHARSAWAN ARE PREVENTING ENTRY OF MEN FROM BIHAR FOR DOING PEACEFUL MERGER PUBLICITY IN THE TWO STATES PRO BIHAR MEETINGS BEING SYSTEMATICALLY DISTURBED WITH THE CONNIVANCE OF ORISSA OFFICERS PRO BIHAR WORKERS THREATENED WITH MURDER AND ASSAULT THE UNFORTUNATE KHARSAWAN FIRING BEING USED TO TERRORISE SIMPLE ADIBASIS FOR ANYTHING AGAINST ORISSA ONE PRO BIHAR WORKER REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN MURDERED CASES OF ASSAULT ONE PRO BIHAR MAN ALSO REPORTED FROM ALL ACCOUNTS ORISSA OFFICERS HAVE LET LOOSE A VERITABLE REIGN OF TERROR BIHAR SUSPICIOUS ABOUT THE INTENTIONS OF ORISSA GOVERNMENT BIHAR WANTS ONLY FAIR PLAY AND FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO BOTH SIDES FOR DOING PEACEFUL MERGER PROPAGANDA UNLESS THIS IS ASSURED TRIBUNAL WILL FIND DIFFICULTY IN FINDING OUT THE TRUTH PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WILL THEREFORE REQUEST FOR PUTTING AN END TO THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS AND FOR DIRECTING ORISSA TO ALLOW FULL FREEDOM TO BIHAR FOR MERGER PUBLICITY IN THE TWO STATES FAILING WHICH GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SHOULD ASSUME DIRECT

its hasty passage without any adequate solution for the difficulties that can be foreseen.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.S. Aney

The Hon'ble Dr. S.K. Sinha
Premier, Bihar
Patna.

13. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru*

Dehra Dun
26 April 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter of 22 April 1948 regarding the move in the Bengal Assembly for a change in the Ministry.

I myself feel that there is no escape from a fresh election. The present set-up of the Bengal Assembly is very weak and vacillating, and there is full scope for intrigues of every kind. When Bidhan was asked to take over Premiership, I told him myself that it would not be possible for him in the present circumstances to continue for more than a few months and that the same tactics would be repeated. Interference from outside, such as from the Congress President or from the Parliamentary Board, might remedy matters temporarily, but will not effect any lasting cure.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi.

14. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi
27 April 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I returned from Bombay this afternoon after spending four very strenuous days there. I feel tired and worn out. But immediately on arrival here I have to face a host of difficult problems.

2. Among them there is something new—Ambedkar's recent speech in Lucknow. You must have seen this in the newspapers. There is a somewhat fuller report of it in the *National Herald* of 26 April. I just do not see how Ambedkar

can continue as a Minister in our Cabinet after this speech. I am writing a letter to him, a copy of which I enclose.

3. There is so much that seems to me wrong that I do not know how and where to begin. On top of all this, most people's nerves are in a bad way due to overwork and perhaps heat. I have just received a letter from [K.C.] Neogy which is needlessly aggressive simply because of some minor decision of the Cabinet in regard to the Rehabilitation Board. As a matter of fact the Cabinet did not come to any decision at all, but elucidated a previous decision about the autonomy of the Board, and postponed further consideration to the next meeting when Neogy was likely to be present.

4. Dr. Bidhan Roy is here. I do not know what to do about Bengal and have requested Rajendra Babu to deal with the matter. I agree with you entirely that we cannot impose a decision on West Bengal and the Party there will have to decide. But in any event, as in the Punjab, it is almost a 50:50 affair and whatever the decision, an unstable ministry results. In West Bengal, as in East Punjab, Ministers have joined in the requisition for a change of Ministry. This is a very improper practice. If a Minister feels that way he must resign first.

5. I think it would be worthwhile for you to give Rs.10,000 to Bidhan Roy for helping workers in East Bengal. If Bidhan ceases to be Premier, the money can be given to his successor.

6. One odd factor in the situation in West Bengal is that some of the prominent persons concerned are from East Bengal, such as Surendra Mohan Ghosh, not to mention Kiran Sankar Roy. I had a brief talk with Prafulla Babu in Bombay, and he seemed to think that the only way out of the difficulty was to have a new Ministry, jointly formed by him and Surendra Mohan Ghosh, one of the two being Premier. Perhaps this might be done. But even that Ministry is not likely to have too long a life. At the present moment it is rather doubtful which way a majority lies.

7. I feel your absence greatly. There are so many serious problems cropping up continually about which I would like to consult you. Apart from this there is the question of the ministries specifically under your charge. You will be issuing directions to them no doubt from day to day on important matters. Nevertheless, your absence will make them rather loose. In the States Ministry, V.P. Menon is frequently touring. In the Home Ministry Banerjee is far from satisfactory. In Information and Broadcasting Bhalja has apparently just taken charge. I do not know if you can suggest some procedure for these Ministries so that while important references should be made to you, some Minister here can be kept in more intimate touch with them. Gopalaswami will be back in a day or two.

8. I received a number of letters from you today. One of them dealt with the possibility of our inviting journalists from the Middle East to India. I shall investigate that.

9. After Gopalaswami's return we shall have to send some formal reply to the Security Council about Kashmir. Also to send more definite instructions about Junagadh.

10. As for appointing a Joint High Commissioner at Dacca, Prafulla Babu might agree. But now owing to the possible change in the Ministry in West Bengal, everything is in a melting pot.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Enclosure not included.

15. *From M.S. Aney to Vallabhbhai Patel*

Government House
Patna
28 April 1948

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I was relieved to hear from Rajendra Babu that you are somewhat better. I do hope you will take adequate rest and be restored to complete health very soon. I trust it would not be disturbing you too much to forward to you a letter which I have addressed to the Hon'ble Premier of Bihar* as it might be of some interest to you. But if at all you are not well enough, kindly do not take any action as I have sent a copy already both to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and to Rajendra Babu.

With very best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.S. Aney

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi.

*See M.S. Aney's letter to Sri Krishna Sinha, dated 23 April 1948.

16. *From Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to Jawaharlal Nehru*

SECRET & PERSONAL

New Delhi
The 28th April 1948

My dear Pandit Nehru,

Please refer to your letter of the 27th April 1948 in which you have expressed your reactions to my speech at the Conference of the Scheduled Castes Federation held in Lucknow on the 25th April. I have not seen any newspaper report of my speech. I don't know which newspaper report you have seen. I am

therefore unable to check up the report point by point. Unfortunately, my speech at the Conference was not a written speech. It was delivered extempore. But I can give you the points I made in my speech. They were all intended to meet the criticism that has been levelled against me by some of my own followers on various counts.

- I. Why I am silent ever since the departure of the Cabinet Mission?
- II. Why I joined the Congress Government?
- III. What I propose to do in the future?

In reply to I, I said:

The Scheduled Castes Federation demanded political safeguards—the most important of which was separate electorates. If the results of the primary elections were taken as the test, there was no doubt that the whole of the scheduled castes were behind this demand. Notwithstanding this, our demand was turned down by the Cabinet Mission. This was because of two reasons: (1) we were a weaker party as compared with the Muslims and the Sikhs, and (2) we were divided in our ranks which contained many fifth columnists. The decision of the Cabinet Mission seemed to wipe out the scheduled castes as a separate political entity and that without political safeguards the scheduled castes appeared to me to be doomed. There was a complete darkness before me. That is the reason why I have not made any statement.

In reply to II, I said:

It is true I have been an opponent and a critic of the Congress. At the same time I don't believe in opposition for the sake of opposition. There ought to be the spirit of cooperation where we can gain something by cooperation. I thought there would be no use fighting with the Congress. I therefore decided to cooperate and by cooperation we got some safeguards in the Constitution which we might not otherwise have got and gave some instances to substantiate my argument. With regard to my joining the Cabinet, I said there were two reasons which prevailed upon me to accept the offer: (1) the offer was without any condition, (2) one could serve the interests of the scheduled castes better from within the Government than from without. I said that the scheduled castes had no fear of bad laws being made to their prejudice. What they had to fear about was bad administration. This bad administration was due to the absence of men belonging to the scheduled castes in the administration. The administration was unsympathetic to the scheduled castes because it was manned wholly by caste Hindu officers who were partial to the caste Hindus in the villages who exacted *begar* from the scheduled castes and practised upon them tyranny and oppression day in and day out. This tyranny and oppression could be averted only if more of the scheduled castes could find a place in the Civil Services. This can be done better by being inside the Government rather than remaining outside.

In regard to III, I said:

There is no use joining the Congress. Safety lies in having two parties. There must be opposition to criticise government. Government may otherwise easily become dictatorship. It is a house which is burning. There are many inside the Congress who want to form an opposition, the necessity of which they feel quite strongly. Secondly, the Congress itself is getting divided. The Socialists have gone out of it. How big they will grow one cannot say now. There are possibilities of their getting quite big. Hereafter there will be two parties: (1) Congress, and (2) Socialists—and the question is not whether we should join the Congress. The question is whether we should join the Congress or the Socialists. I said that my advice is that you should form a *third* party so that the scheduled castes may be able to hold the balance and thereby obtain bargaining power. There is no use joining any political party as its mere camp-followers. If it gives anything, it merely gives office. It cannot give power. Your Conference has just now passed a resolution condemning the Pant Government for giving you only 10 per cent reservation in the Services when on a purely population basis you are entitled to something [like] 22 per cent. The reason why Mr. Pant does not give you your full quota is because, for his majority in the U.P. Assembly, he is not dependent upon you. When he becomes dependent upon you—and that can be only when you are united into a separate organisation worthy of negotiation—you can demand 22 per cent and he will have to give it to you.

I then turned to the question of unity between the scheduled castes and the so-called backward classes. This I did at the request of the leaders of the backward classes who were present at the Conference. I said it was a pity that the two classes whose needs were common did not join together. The reason was that the backward classes did not like to associate themselves with the scheduled castes because they were afraid that such an association will bring themselves down to the level of the scheduled castes. I said that I was not anxious to establish interdining and intermarriage between the scheduled castes and the backward classes. They may well remain separate social entities. There is no reason why they should not join hands to form a political party to remove their backward condition. I pointed out how the scheduled castes have improved their condition by playing their part in the politics of the country and there is no reason why the backward classes should not do the same. I said that the scheduled castes and the backward classes form majority of the population of this country. There is no reason why they should not rule this country. All that is necessary is to organise for the purpose of capturing political power which is your own because of adult suffrage. People do not seem to buck up courage because they are overwhelmed by the belief that Congress Government is there for ever. I said, this is a wrong impression. In a popular democracy no government is permanent and not even the government established by the two of the tallest Congressmen, Pandit Jawaharlal and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. If you organise you can even capture that government.

I have given you as detailed an account and as accurate an account of what I said as I can recall. You will allow me to say that I never speak in a desultory

manner. Whether I make a written or an oral speech, I always speak on some definite points. These are the only three points on which I spoke at Lucknow.

With regard to the observations you have made on my speech, I would like to draw your attention to the following:

- (i) There was no hostility to the Congress. In fact I justified my cooperation with the Congress, and did not exclude the possibility of aligning with the Congress under the new Constitution.
- (ii) There was no reference to any member of the present Government. The reference I made to you and to Sardar Patel was far from being derogatory. It was quite complimentary.
- (iii) There was not the remotest reference to the present Cabinet either for its acts of commission or omission.

With regard to your point that I am advocating communal organisation, you have probably forgotten the discussion that took place in the Cabinet over the resolution on communal organisations. I then pointed out that so long as the scheduled castes have been granted political safeguards, it is incumbent upon them to form their own political organisations to see that the safeguards do not become nugatory. You then accepted the substantiality of this point and referred to it in your reply to the mover of the resolution in the Assembly.

I appreciate what you say about Cabinet responsibility. I venture to say that no Minister has observed it more scrupulously than I have done. You will allow me to say that on most of the questions that have come before the Cabinet I have had my own independent opinions which have been different from yours. Some of them were very vital and about which I have felt greatly disturbed. Notwithstanding this I have not made any single statement either to the Press or to the public. In fact I have refused invitations to address meetings just because of the feeling that I may have to say something unpleasant about the Government. In fact I have been the most silent member of the present Cabinet. This silence is deliberate and self-imposed only to maintain Cabinet responsibility.

With regard to your statement that I was attempting to turn you and the Deputy Prime Minister out of office, all I can say is that if you advert to the relevant part of my speech as I have given above you yourself will see that any such suggestion is fantastic. The point at which the reference to you and the Sardar occurs is general and the reference to you and the Sardar is by way of illustration only. There is no plot, there is not even an idea which has any foundation in personal ambition. Besides, the whole of that part of the speech relates to the future elections under the new Constitution. It has not the remotest reference to the present Government. The Press has never been kind to me. It has always done its best to twist facts and phrases, take them out of their context and pervert the sense of anything I have said. I fear this is what has happened to my

speech at Lucknow. I therefore hope that my version—which though broad is yet untarnished—will give you a correct idea of what I said.

Yours sincerely,
B.R. Ambedkar
Law Member

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of the Dominion of India.

17. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar*

SECRET & PERSONAL

New Delhi
30 April 1948

My dear Dr. Ambedkar,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th April. As you have not seen the report of your speech I am sending you a cutting from the *National Herald* of Lucknow. The speech has been reported in nearly all the papers at some length and you may have also seen editorial comments on it. There is little doubt that your speech has created something of a sensation and has disturbed and distressed many people.

2. The surprise and distress was all the greater for me because ever since you joined the Government at my invitation there has been no occasion when there was the slightest ill-will between us. We have differed occasionally of course as even the most intimate colleagues can differ. But that difference has not come in the way of our cooperation and of our working together. I gladly acknowledge that cooperation from you during this period and the way you have helped all of us in working more or less as a team. When I invited you to join the Government of course I put forward no conditions. It seems to me unbecoming to attach conditions to an offer for cooperation in a common task. Of course certain consequences are inherent in such working together. For instance I am Prime Minister chiefly because of my position in the Congress organisation and because it is the Congress that was responsible for forming the Cabinet. My invitation to you therefore was more than a personal invitation; it was an invitation on behalf of the organisation I have the honour to represent. That organisation welcomed you not as one of its members but as a colleague in the Cabinet. I have not asked you to join the Congress. That is entirely a matter for you to decide whichever way you like. But inevitably our working together in a Cabinet, which is essentially a Congress Cabinet, means a certain goodwill towards the Congress or at least an avoidance of anything that might be construed as an attack on the Congress.

3. What the future of the Congress is going to be is more than I can prophesy,

though the latest indications from elections and otherwise are that it has a very powerful hold on the public mind and that it will continue to have that hold in spite of defections. But however that may be, you will appreciate that your references to the Congress, as reported, must hurt Congressmen and make them feel that you wish to undermine and destroy that organisation. You refer, as reported, that the Congress is a kind of enemy and persecutor of the scheduled castes which must be broken up by ever greater fragmentation and thus made helpless. It is open to anyone to say this of the Congress, but coming from a colleague in the Congress Cabinet it does seem odd and rather hurts.

4. The Congress may have erred on many occasions, but I do believe that as an organisation it has done its utmost to raise the scheduled castes and all backward classes. I hope that you will not doubt my bona fides in this matter. Looking at it even from a narrow point of view I should imagine that it was to the benefit of the scheduled castes to have the powerful aid of the Congress rather than range themselves in hostility to it.

5. You refer to the resolution against communalism which the Assembly adopted and what I said on that occasion. Even before I had spoken to you on this subject the matter had been raised in our Party meeting and I had made it perfectly clear that it was our duty to help in every way the scheduled castes and that this resolution was not meant to come in the way. That was what I repeated in my speech in the Assembly. But I did not mean that some kind of a communal organisation should be favoured for the scheduled castes in spite of that resolution. That resolution was quite clear about political communal bodies. We cannot go behind that resolution after giving it our full support. That support indeed was a reflection of the public demand to put down communalism in politics. I feel sure that any political organisation built up on a communal basis will not succeed in the future and will indeed do injury to the very cause it advocates.

6. In the report of your speech you have referred to fifth columnists. I imagine this refers to members of the scheduled castes who have closely associated themselves with the Congress. Among them are many of our colleagues and notably Shri Jagjivan Ram. To refer to these colleagues of ours who have laboured so much for the cause of the scheduled castes as fifth columnists is hardly a gracious thing to do apart from its other aspects.

7. I have valued your cooperation in the Government and in the Constituent Assembly very greatly and I hope that this would lead us into other fields of cooperation. Because of this the shock of reading your speech has been all the greater. For my part I want our cooperation to continue in the tasks ahead because I feel that you can serve the nation with conspicuous ability. I would not personally mind any criticism of me by you or anyone else. But the matter is not a personal one and it has an important public aspect. Newspapers are commenting upon it and I have received today a formal notice from a member of the Constituent Assembly informing me that he intends to raise this matter in the Assembly. For my part I should like, if it is possible, to clear this matter up before

the public so that the public mind may be set at rest. That might be done if you could issue a suitable statement to the Press.

8. Tomorrow afternoon I am holding a Press Conference about Kashmir and Hyderabad. It is quite possible that I might be asked questions about your speech and I shall have some difficulty in answering it.

9. I shall be glad to meet you and discuss this matter with you at some time convenient to us both.

Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi.

Enclosure not included.

18. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to M.S. Aney*

Mussoorie
2 May 1948

My dear Bapuji,

Thank you for your letter dated 28 April 1948.

I have read with interest your letter to Sri Babu. The Working Committee is seized of this matter. Perhaps Rajen Babu, who is coming here tomorrow, may mention it to me. I am afraid it is difficult for me to do anything from here.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Mr. M.S. Aney
Governor of Bihar
Patna.

19. *From Mohini Mohan Barman and Hem Chandra Naskar to the Leader of the West Bengal Congress Assembly Party*

Calcutta
The 6th May 1948

Dear Sir,

We regret that due to certain misunderstanding, we signed a requisition for reconstitution of the Ministry. We along with others have withdrawn the requisition.

We hereby reiterate our full confidence in Dr. B.C. Roy as our Leader and Premier.

Yours sincerely,
Mohini Mohan Barman
Hem Chandra Naskar

The Leader
Bengal Assembly Party.

20. *From Hem Chandra Naskar and some other members of the Cabinet and the Congress Assembly Party of West Bengal to the Premier, West Bengal*

Calcutta
6 May 1948

We the following Cabinet members and other members of the Party have full confidence in you as Leader and our Chief Minister.

Hem Chandra Naskar
Mohini Mohan Barman
Krishna Prasad Mondal
Arabinda Gayen
Ardhendu Sekhar Naskar
Bankubehari Mandal

The Hon'ble Premier
West Bengal.

21. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Harekrushna Mahtab*

Mussoorie
12 May 1948

My dear Mahtab,

I am sending herewith a copy of the letter which I have received from Rajen Babu and my reply to him* and the enclosure to his letter in original.† I should be glad if you would let me have your comments as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Harekrushna Mahtab
Premier, Cuttack.

*See Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letter to Vallabhbhai Patel, dated 8 May 1948, and Vallabhbhai Patel's letter in reply thereto, dated 12 May 1948, in Correspondence—Part I.

†Not included.

22. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru*

Mussoorie

18 May 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Please refer to the attached correspondence with Rajen Babu regarding the Congress Sewa Dal. The Government of West Bengal have, I understand, placed a ban on the Congress Sewa Dal along with other volunteer organisations. I feel that a distinction between the Congress Volunteer Organisation and others can be made on the ground suggested by Rajen Babu, and, if you agree, I would issue instructions accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Enclosure not included.

23. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to Vallabhbhai Patel*

New Delhi

20 May 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have received a number of letters from you. You will forgive me if there is delay in answering them. I have been overwhelmed with work since my return. In any event I hope to see you soon. I propose to bring H.V.R. Iengar and Krishna Menon* with me to Mussoorie. Krishna Menon is here just for a week or ten days for consultations. But there are one or two points which I might deal with immediately.

About the report of a purse of Rs.10 lakhs to be given to me at Coimbatore, I entirely agree with you. But I do not quite know what to do in the matter if I am presented with purses at public meetings or otherwise. I received no information about this purse except a brief reference in a letter received this morning from the local Congress President.

Your letter of 18 May about the Congress Sewa Dal. I entirely agree with you and Rajendra Babu on this matter that there should be no ban on the Congress Sewa Dal. Indeed, I think the ban should be used sparingly and only on organisations known to be violent or communal. I am afraid our recent policy of banning organisations has had a very unfavourable reaction in foreign countries, including England.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

*Secretary, India League, London, 1929-47; Special Representative in London of Indian Government, 1946-47; High Commissioner, 1947-52; later Defence Minister; resigned from Nehru Cabinet in 1962 after Sino-Indian conflict.

24. *From Harekrushna Mahtab to Vallabhbhai Patel*Cuttack
21 May 1948

Revered Sardarji,

Your letter dated 12 May 1948 with its enclosures.

It is really unfortunate that Rajendra Babu should accept allegations against the Orissa Government as prima facie correct and then proceed on them till the reverse is proved. Anyway, I think our records are clean and I do not think anybody can question our bona fides in any action we take.

As regards the allegations of Sri Shreedhar Udgata, Editor of the *Praja Mitra* of Bolangir, Patna, all of them are totally false and this can be proved from the records. The paper was started by the Ruler of Patna State and since December last the paper has been violently attacking the States Ministry and also yourself and myself by name. We did not take any action on these things; but when a few Rulers decided to start an agitation for reviving the old Eastern States Union and when it was found out that their programme was to create lawlessness on a large scale, we thought that it was our duty to check these subversive activities from the beginning and accordingly we took rather very mild action. I give below the report of the District Magistrate of Patna regarding the situation there:

There is a tense feeling in the State on the merger issue. The bulk of the people are preferring to remain in the Province while a small section has been trying to oppose the merger and bring back the old order of things, under the aegis of a States Union. There is a certain section of people in the State who are likely to be influenced by articles of the nature mentioned above and take recourse to open lawlessness. I therefore consider that there will be a menace to the maintenance of public peace and public safety if the *Praja Mitra* is not controlled.

Apart from this report we received a number of reports from other quarters that very few people were distributing anonymous leaflets and encouraging the Adibasis to rise in revolt. Of course, the number of agitators was so small that one could argue that they should have been neglected; but I did not like to take any risk in this matter. So the necessary action has been taken.

As regards the legality of the question, the Orissa Public Safety Law has been extended to all the States and you have rightly held that there was no illegality in it. As regards the propriety, I consider it proper in the interest of law and order.

Finally, I would respectfully urge that the President of the Indian National Congress should listen to the other side before an impression is formed about a

Provincial Government. Here I might say that there is not a single detenu in the States although some prohibitive orders have been issued upon some.

Yours sincerely,
Harekrushna Mahtab

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie (U.P.).

25. *From Harekrushna Mahtab to Vallabhbhai Patel*

Cuttack
21 May 1948

Revered Sardarji,

You know I agreed to abide by your decision with regard to Seraikella and Kharsawan and as a matter of fact I took the initiative in this matter. I thought that the inter-provincial dispute would cease after the question of Seraikella and Kharsawan was disposed of. As a matter of fact Mr. Pillai, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, assured the Orissa delegation in the presence of Mr. Menon that he had been directed to say that Bihar would not lay any claim on any other State in Orissa. But I send you herewith an extract from a statement of the Hon'ble Mr. A.Q. Ansari, a Minister of Bihar:

I hope that the question of other States of Chhotanagpur that have been temporarily merged with Orissa and the C.P. and which is now pending before the States Ministry will be settled in the same spirit and goodwill and justice and the happy and harmonious relationship between the Provinces that have been lately disturbed on this account will be permanently restored. Bihar wants only justice and nothing more.

This statement has appeared in bold type both in the *Indian Nation* and *The Searchlight*.

Again Mr. Jaipal Singh writes to the *Indian Nation* from Delhi, dated 10-5-48:

We have yet to get back nine other Chhotanagpur States, viz., Changbhakar, Jashpur, Korea, Surguja, Udaipur, Bamra, Bonai, Gangpur and Keonjhar. Our struggle for them will also be equally hard but go on it must relentlessly. For all the Chhotanagpur States our case is unassailable. Geographical, administrative, historical, ethnic and linguistic factors are all in our favour. The people themselves demand integration to the Bihar Administration. We welcome any plebiscite. The Governments of Orissa and Central Provinces are desperately against a verdict of the people themselves. Why?

It is truly gratifying to see that all political parties have combined to get back all the Chhotanagpur States. I appeal to everyone to sink domestic differences in the struggle for the restoration of the Chhotanagpur States to the Bihar Administration.

These statements may create confusion again. I think it is my duty to draw your attention to this kind of activity on the part of Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
Harekrushna Mahtab

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie (U.P.).

26. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Sri Krishna Sinha*

Dehra Dun
29 May 1948

My dear Sri Babu,

My attention has been drawn to the following extract of a statement made by Abdul Qayum Ansari:

I hope that the question of other States of Chhotanagpur that have been temporarily merged with Orissa and the C.P. and which is now pending before the States Ministry will be settled in the same spirit and goodwill and justice and the happy and harmonious relationship between the Provinces that have been lately disturbed on this account will be permanently restored. Bihar wants only justice and nothing more.

I had hoped that with the transfer of Seraikella and Kharsawan to Bihar, Bihar's claims on Orissa shall have been completely met. Bihar never laid claim to any other States except Surguja and Jashpur, which matter has been separately settled. I am, therefore, surprised to find a colleague of yours giving expression to such ideas which merely seem to encourage Jaipal Singh in his nefarious activities. I should like to know why Abdul Qayum Ansari made this statement. I hope he will be careful in future.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Premier of Bihar
Patna.

27. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to all Cabinet Ministers*

PRIME MINISTER'S SECRETARIAT

No. 829-PM

8 June 1948

At the meeting of the Cabinet yesterday it was decided to present some kind of a personal souvenir to Lord and Lady Mountbatten on the eve of their departure from India. It was suggested that this might take the shape of a silver tray or salver on which there would be a small rather personal inscription and signatures of the people joining in the presentation. These signatures would be engraved all over the tray. We are inviting all Members of the Cabinet as also Governors of Provinces to associate themselves in this presentation by attaching their signatures. Apart from the present members of the Cabinet it is proposed to invite Dr. Rajendra Prasad also, who was for long a member of the Cabinet and is now President of the Constituent Assembly, to join in this.

2. The centre of the plate or tray will contain the India Crest engraved. Above this will be the small inscription and all round engraved signatures in an erratic fashion.

3. The inscription has not been decided upon but it may be something to the following effect: "To the Mountbattens on the eve of their departure from India with the affectionate regards and good wishes of their friends."

4. As some members of the Cabinet were not present yesterday at the meeting, I am sending this note round. I should be grateful if specimen signatures are sent to me so that these might be engraved on the plate.

5. As this is a purely personal gift it is proposed that the cost of it should be shared among the signatories.

J. Nehru
8.6.48

All Central Ministers.

28. *From Vallabhbhai Patel to Jawaharlal Nehru*

Dehra Dun
15 June 1948

My dear Jawaharlal,

Some of the recent speeches of Jayaprakash [Narayan]* have been filling me with misgivings. The one about Hyderabad, in which he tried to put the entire blame on the States Ministry and claimed that if the Socialists had been allowed to function in their own way, things would have been settled long ago, was

particularly vicious and mischievous. I would not have troubled you with this letter had it not been that you have been publicly praising him and been hailing him as the coming man. I feel that such irresponsible utterances and embarrassing attitude on his part hardly justify any faith in him. I have all along been of the view that if the future of India is in the hands of men like Jayaprakash, it would probably be a most unfortunate circumstance. Recent events and his attitude after Gandhiji's death bear out this view and I sincerely feel that it is time he was pulled up. I do not know whether you can succeed in putting him right, but if you feel that you can, it might be worth while trying. If he and his party can be brought round to some sober thinking and acting, it will be in the best interests of this country.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
17 York Road
New Delhi.

*Founder-Secretary, Socialist Party of India; prominent member of Congress till 1948; retired from politics and engaged himself in Sarvodaya (public welfare activities), including Bhoodan (land gift) and Gramdan (social service) movements organised by Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

29. *From Sri Krishna Sinha to Vallabhbhai Patel*

Patna
16 June 1948

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 29 May. Hon'ble Mr. Ansari is not at Patna. I will reply to your letter after I have a talk with him when he comes back from tour. I may, however, inform you that Bihar is grateful to you for having restored Seraikella and Kharsawan to it and it is not our intention to claim any other State now.

Yours,
S.K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi.

30. *From Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee to Vallabhbhai Patel*New Delhi
16 June 1948

My dear Sardarji,

I received your letter about the raising of subscriptions for the defence of the accused in Gandhiji's murder trial. I had a talk with Mr. Bhopatkar about this matter this morning. I think the position has been somewhat misunderstood. The Hindu Mahasabha has not appointed any Defence Committee. The All-India Defence Committee is an entirely independent organisation. The All-India Hindu Mahasabha as such is not raising any subscription. As you have yourself hinted, the move for raising funds started in some quarters mainly for the defence of Savarkarji. I need not go into the merits or demerits of his arrest. But you will realise that his arrest has caused considerable anxiety in the minds of a large number of people in all parts of India. There are many who hold the view that he is innocent and everything possible should be done to defend him. As regards the defence of the other accused, the matter was raised by the court on the opening day of the trial. All the accused said that they would make their own arrangements for defence. Some of the accused have indeed done so. A few with the approval of the court sought the assistance of Mr. Bhopatkar in making necessary arrangements. As was explained in the court day before yesterday this also has been completed. The lawyers who have been engaged, it appears, are mostly non-political persons and they are coming in their professional capacity. Government is not paying anything towards their fees and some funds have been raised for the purpose of meeting their immediate expenses. I had a talk with Mr. Bhopatkar previously. In fact he gave me his personal view that if Savarkarji was not an accused, he would not have been interested in conducting the proceeding at all. But the inclusion of Savarkarji did obviously alter the situation and he had to appear on his behalf and out of loyalty towards him.

The Hindu Mahasabha as such has not made any arrangement for defence of any of the accused, nor has authorised the raising of any subscription. But as I have already said, funds mainly raised for Savarkar's defence have been placed in the hands of the Defence Committee for utilisation.

I am hoping to come to Dehra Dun on Friday afternoon. I propose to start by motor at about 2.30 p.m. reaching there in the evening. I intend to start back for Delhi on Saturday morning so that I may reach here by noon. I hope you will be able to spare some time to meet me. If this suits you, please ask Shankar to let me know by telephone tomorrow. I may spend the night at Roorkee, if necessary. I trust you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
Syama PrasadThe Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dehra Dun.

31. *From Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee to Dr. B.R. Ambedkar*

4 King Edward Road
New Delhi
28th June 1948

My dear Ambedkar,

I enclose copies of my correspondence with Dr. Rajendra Prasad regarding the scope of enquiry of the Commission he has appointed to examine the question of creation of some new Provinces.* The letters that have passed between me and him will speak for themselves. Please see Dr. Rajendra Prasad's last reply dated 25th June. You are the Chairman of the Drafting Committee and you might perhaps be good enough to interpret the scope of the recommendations made by you in paragraph 20 of your report. I shall be grateful if you will kindly send an early reply to me.

Yours sincerely,
S.P. Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
Minister for Law
Government of India
New Delhi.

*See Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee's letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad dated 22 May 1948 and 20 June 1948, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad's letters in reply thereto, dated 22 May 1948 and 25 June 1948, respectively, in Correspondence—Part I.

32. *From Dr. B.R. Ambedkar to Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee*

1 Hardinge Avenue
New Delhi
29th June 1948

My dear Mookerjee,

Please refer to your letter of the 28th June 1948 forwarding the correspondence that has passed between you and Dr. Rajendra Prasad touching the creation of new linguistic Provinces. You have asked me to clarify my position on the points of dispute between you and him which I can readily do as I have no sides to take. I think instead of expressing my individual views on the points that arise out of the correspondence between you two it would be much better if I were to express my opinion on the terms of the Notification issued on the 17th June 1948 announcing the appointment of the Linguistic Provinces Commission by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

It is clear that the Press communique has been issued in pursuance of the recommendation contained in paragraph 20 of my letter which I as the Chairman

of the Drafting Committee had addressed to the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly and which is prefixed to the Draft Constitution. In paragraph 20 of the letter I had stated that there are two ways of dealing with the question of creating linguistic Provinces. One way was to take action under section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, immediately and before the Draft Constitution was finally passed. The second method was to allow the Draft Constitution to be passed and thereafter to act upon the Articles for the creation of new States on linguistic basis contained in the new Constitution. The Drafting Committee was in favour of the first method, namely, proceeding under section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, because it found that the demand for the creation of linguistic Provinces was so strong that certain linguistic areas such as Andhra were insistent that they should be declared as separate Provinces *before* the Constitution came into operation.

There are two other questions that require to be considered. One is: Who has the authority to take action under section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935? On this point it is quite obvious that the action under section 290 is to be taken by the Governor-General and not the President of the Constituent Assembly for the simple reason that the administration of the Government of India Act, 1935, is vested in the Governor-General and not in the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly cannot confer any authority on the President to create linguistic Provinces except by an amendment of section 290 substituting President for the word Governor-General. It was because I was aware of this fact that I had written to the Hon'ble Prime Minister to advise the Governor-General to take action under section 290 as being the only competent authority to take such action. The appointment of the Commission by the President seems to be clearly beyond his power.

The second question is: Is the President bound to confine the examination of the demand for linguistic Provinces to areas mentioned in paragraph 2 of the Press communique? The action having been taken under section 290 the limitations on the terms of reference to the Commission have to be considered in the light of the language used in section 290. A reference to section 290 shows that there are no limitations on the scope of action permissible under that section. It permits the creation of new Provinces on linguistic basis and it also permits attachments and detachments of areas to make Provinces linguistic.

The action under section 290 is independent of the decisions of the Constituent Assembly and it is open under that section to have the case of West Bengal considered.

Yours sincerely,
B.R. Ambedkar

Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Minister for Industry & Supply
New Delhi.

33. *From Jawaharlal Nehru to M.S. Aney*

No. 924-PM

New Delhi
The 3rd July 1948

My dear Mr. Aney,

I have received your letter of June 21st* which you say you have written as a citizen of C.P. and Berar. I entirely agree with you about the undesirability of taking up the question of new Provinces at this critical stage. But there has been such tremendous agitation for this, more specially in the Andhra and Karnataka Provinces, that it became impossible to do nothing about it. For the present, as you know, the President of the Constituent Assembly has appointed a Commission on the broad issue only. It is quite open to that Commission to suggest that whatever the merits of the case, the present is no time to take any effective steps.

I am sending your letter to the President of the Constituent Assembly. The question of Hyderabad cannot obviously be mixed up with the formation of Andhra and Karnataka at the present moment. Ultimately no doubt that question will have to be faced from the linguistic point of view.

I do not see any justification for taking any hasty action in regard to the formation of new Provinces but you should not attach much importance to the reactions in regard to this.

I might mention that the Commission is not being appointed by the Government of India but by the President of the Constituent Assembly.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

H.E. Shri M.S. Aney.

* See enclosure to M.S. Aney's letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 21 June 1948, in Correspondence—Part I.

34. *From Basantalall Murarka to Abul Kalam Azad*Calcutta
27 July 1948MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD
SECRETARIAT
NEW DELHI

... OF 180 APPLICATIONS 149 ACCEPTED DESPITE OUR VIGOROUS PROTEST
AND OPPOSITION WEST BENGAL PISEESE SWAMPED BY EAST BENGAL
DELEGATES WHO HAVE NO CONSTITUENCIES HERE PRAY IMMEDIATE
INTERVENTION STOP SUGGEST PERMANENT SINDH ANALOGY EAST BENGAL

DELEGATES MUST HAVE NO VOTING RIGHT PENDING APPEAL AND FINAL
DECISION STAY BIPARTISAN ELECTION

BASANTALALL MURARKA

35. *From Mukut Dhari Singh to Vallabhbhai Patel*

URGENT & CONFIDENTIAL

P.O. Jharia (Manbhum)

Bihar

30th July 1948

Respected Sardarji,

Excuse me for venturing to write a few words to you, knowing fully well your important urgent preoccupations. I believe you have not forgotten me. When I met you in Wardha last, in August 1946, little did I know that your prophecy about the Socialist Party of India was to come so true. But it has actually happened like that and I have found it impossible to work with them and have resigned. I have been reading your speeches about labour movement very carefully and feel that real industrial truce must be maintained till our newborn state is strengthened and stabilised.

But here in our coalfields things are moving otherwise and one strike after another is hampering production and keeping the peace of the coalfields disturbed. If there were real grievances and the workers went on strike to get them redressed one could tolerate them, at least sympathise with them. But when we know it for certain that these strikes are being caused for the sole purpose of capturing leadership or power and workers are being used as pawns on the chess-board of party politics, we shudder to think as to what is in store for our country. But the worst part of it is that the Government's mind does not seem to be clear. Excuse me when I say that many of these strikes could not have lasted even for a week if local Government officials had not shown unusual favour to the strike leaders, especially the Socialists, and had not given them all indirect and direct support.

Take for instance the strike in Tata's collieries. Nothing can be more unjustified than this strike and everybody knows it. Still you will be surprised to know that those who want to go to work and do not want to be on strike are driven back at the point of lathis by the strikers and the officials in charge of law and order are all the time laughing and chatting with the strike leaders.

Anyway, I write these few words in good faith and as an humble servant of the workers. And this for the simple reason that your mind alone appears to be clear about the shape of things to come. All Left Parties, especially the Socialist Party of India, are preparing for the future elections and the capture of power. When this is so, would it not be dangerous to follow a policy of appeasement and allow

them to consolidate their position? This is exactly [what is] being done and the Government is giving them prominence which they do not deserve. Believe me when I say that your officials are sabotaging the Government and nothing is being done either to implement the resolution of the Industrial Conference or the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. A policy of drift is dangerous and must be put an end to. The position is more serious than what I can express in my letter. If ever I get an opportunity of meeting you, I can place you in possession of full facts.

As for myself I have resigned from the Socialist Party but have not as yet joined the I.N.T.U.C. I had a talk with Shri Khandubhai at Patna but could not make up my mind then. Now I have made up my mind and propose joining it in near future because I feel that in this hour of national crisis, I.N.T.U.C. must be strengthened. I shall be addressing a letter in this connection to Shri Khandubhai.

This letter has become a little bit lengthy and may cause you inconvenience but I have ventured to address you because today you are the only hope of India and can deliver the goods.

Beg to be excused for encroaching upon your valuable time.

Obediently yours,
Mukut Dhari Singh

APPENDICES

1. Resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee on the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi

I

The Working Committee place on record their sense of profound sorrow and shame at the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. The foul deed is indicative of the communal poison which has been sedulously propagated for years in this country and has recently caused reactions and gained adherents even in circles which were immune before. It was against the spread of this poison and to establish peace and harmony that Gandhiji pitched the whole might of his great personality and risked his life by undertaking an unlimited fast shortly before his tragic murder. That fast was terminated on the sixth day when pledges were given to ensure that Muslims could live with honour and security in India.

The Working Committee feel that the communal poison must be eradicated if the nation has to live, grow and prosper. The world-wide reaction to Mahatma Gandhi's death places on India a special responsibility of fulfilling his last wish. It is, therefore, necessary to make a supreme effort for establishing communal harmony and thus achieve as a result of his death what was not fully achieved during his lifetime.

The Working Committee call upon all Congressmen and organisations to initiate and carry on an intensive drive against communalism by removing causes of friction, by ensuring to all minorities equal rights of citizenship and by organising fraternisation among members of all communities. More than any outward demonstration is required a change in the mental attitude of the people at large. It should be clearly understood and realised that the only way to establish peace and goodwill is to show it in spite of provocation and in spite of even justifiable resentment against the actions of others.

FIGHT AGAINST VIOLENCE

The Working Committee ask the Government to take note of forces of hatred and violence acting in the open or in the dark to disrupt the roots of social life and take action to counteract them. It is also necessary that confidence should be created in the people that the state is ready and prepared to preserve and protect all its citizens, irrespective of caste and creed, and to meet all emergencies, all private armies or like formations should be forbidden and organisations based on religion for political ends discouraged.

To become an effective instrument for carrying out the heavy and responsible duty which devolves upon the Congress it should set its own house in order and the Committee call upon Congressmen to purify the organisation even at the risk

of shrinkage of the extent of its membership. It should be remembered that during his last days Gandhiji was distressed by the fall in the standard of conduct of Congressmen which he expressed in unambiguous language at the time of his last fast. It is up to every worker of the Congress to exercise introspection and help the great organisation which has been built up during the course of years at tremendous sacrifice and to recover and re-establish the standard which Gandhiji had set before it. The possession of power should make Congressmen sober and humble; they should realise their responsibility and turn themselves into fit servants of the people.

II

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

Mahatma Gandhi's imperishable teachings and achievements are enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen and of the world. Succeeding generations will look up to them and find inspiration from them. No more fitting memorial can be raised to his memory which can never fade away. Nevertheless there is a duty cast upon all his countrymen, as well as others, to help in every way in the furtherance of his high ideals by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities which were so near to his heart and for which he laboured unceasingly.

The Working Committee are, therefore, of opinion that a National Memorial Fund be started with the object of carrying on these constructive activities on an all-India basis. This fund may also be used to collect, preserve and publish his writings and teachings in various languages, and to maintain a museum where articles connected with Gandhiji may be preserved. The main purpose of the fund will, however, be to further the manifold constructive activities in which Gandhiji was interested and such other activities of a like nature which give concrete shape to his ideas.

The Committee appeal to the people of India to contribute to this National Memorial Fund and suggest that each individual should give at least ten days' income to it. The method of utilising this fund will be decided subsequently by a representative meeting of those interested in it, who will also choose trustees and a Managing Committee. The major part of the fund will as a rule be kept apart for use in the Provinces or States where it is collected, and donors may earmark their contributions for specific items in the constructive programme. Details as to the use and management of the fund will be decided by the Managing Committee subsequently.

Meanwhile the Working Committee authorise the President of the Congress to take all preliminary steps, including the appointment of a provisional committee in order to launch this fund. The President will also appoint a provisional secretary of the fund and will indicate the banks which will receive contributions.

2. A letter from Abul Kalam Azad to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 1 April 1948

दिल्ली

अप्रैल 1, 1948

मुहब्बी,

श्री कृष्ण वल्लभ सहाय यहां आये और आपका खत दिया। मैं नहीं जानता कि असल वाकिया क्या है? लेकिन मुझसे सरदार पटेल, दरभंगा और सुलतान अहमद तीनों साहिबों ने कहा कि एक डेपुटेशन आपके पास आया था—आपने उनसे वायदा किया था कि बिहार जमींदारी बिल के निश्चय उन्हें इसका मौका दिया जाएगा, कि अपना नुक्ताए ख्याल बाहदे कर दें। अगर वाकैय ऐसा हुआ है तो उन्हें ऐसा मौका देना चाहिए।

आपकी राय दुरुस्त है कि अब बिल को रोकना मसलिहव के खिलाफ होगा। उसे असेम्बली में मंजूर हो जाना चाहिए। चूनाचे यही बात कृष्ण वल्लभ सहाय साहब से कह दी गई लेकिन इसमें कोई हर्ज मालूम नहीं होता कि किसी मौके पर बिहार जमींदारी के डेपुटेशन को अपनी आखिरी ख्यालात जाहिर करने का मौका दे दिया जाए। कृष्ण वल्लभ सहाय ने इस पर आभदगी जाहिर की थी कि 5 अप्रैल को वह आ जाएं और डेपुटेशन से मुलाकात कर ली जाए—लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि यह तारीख मौजूम नहीं होगी क्योंकि मालूम नहीं इस कदर आप जल्द समय निकाल सकेंगे या नहीं। लेकिन अप्रैल के दूसरे या तीसरे हफ्ता की कोई तारीख जो आपके लिए मौजू हो करार दी जा सकती है।

उम्मीद है अब आपकी तबियत बिलकुल दुरुस्त होगी। मैंने दो मरतबा कोशिश की कि आपसे फोन पर गुप्तगूँ कर लूं लेकिन गालिबन आप मकान पर मौजूद नहीं थे।

अबुल कलाम

3. A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Valmiki Choudhary, dated 4 April 1948

बजाजवाडी

वर्धा

4-4-48

चि० वाल्मीकि—आशीर्वाद!

मैं ता० 1/4 को बम्बई से खाना होकर 2/4 सवेरे यहां पहुंचा। नन्दूकू पहुंच गये थे और भाई बहु की तबीयत कुछ सुधरती मालूम पड़ती थी—पर अभी उम्मीद कुछ बहुत नहीं थी। वहां की हवा मेरे लिए ठीक नहीं इसलिए चला आया। कल रात (शनिवार दिन बिता कर रात ता० 3/4/48) साढ़े ग्यारह बजे टेलीफोन आया कि उनका स्वर्गवास हो गया। आज वहां दाह क्रिया करके सब लोग जीरादेई जायेंगे। वहां ही श्राद्ध होगा जो ता० 16/4 को शायद पड़ेगा। मैं यहां से वहां जाऊंगा और श्राद्ध वाद अब दिल्ली आऊंगा। दिल्ली से दुलहिन और बच्चों को जीरादेई जाने में खर्च और तरदुद बहुत है और बच्चों की पढ़ाई में भी हर्ज होगा इसलिए उन लोगों को वहां ही रहना ठीक होगा—मगर अगर बबुआ समझें कि उनको भी श्राद्ध के अवसर पर जाना चाहिए—तो पहुंचा देना होगा। अब जब तक मैं वहां नहीं पहुंचूँ सब लोगों का सम्भाल रखना और यहां पत्र लिखना कि खबर पाकर लोग बहुत घबराये तो नहीं—सबको समझा करके शान्त रखना—अधिक फिर मिलने पर।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

दुलहिन का पत्र साथ में है दे देना।

4. *A letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Valmiki Choudhary, dated 10 April 1948*

वर्धा
10-4-48

चि० वाल्मीकि,

आशीर्वाद! तुम्हारा तार मिला था, जिसका उत्तर गया था। कल पत्र मिला जिसमें सब बातें तुमने लिखी हैं। मैं दुलहिन के नाम से पत्र भेज रहा हूँ। अगर बबूआ लोग पटने से लिखें कि दुलहिन को जाना चाहिए तो उनको वहाँ पहुँचा देना—अगर वह लोग भी न लिखें तो उनको समझा देना। चक्रधर बाबू का यहाँ से जाना मुश्किल है। मैं 13/4 को यहाँ से कलकत्ते जाऊंगा और वहाँ से 14/4 की संध्या को रवाना होकर के 15/4 को सवेरे एक्सप्रेस से पटने पहुँच जाऊंगा और श्राद्ध का काम हो जाने पर वहाँ से दिल्ली चला जाऊंगा। श्राद्ध की तारीख अभी मालूम नहीं है इसलिए यह नहीं कह सकता कि कब दिल्ली पहुँचूंगा। पर बम्बई में तो पहुँच जाना जरूरी है। अगर वर्किंग कमिटी दिल्ली में हुई तो 23/4 को हवाई जहाज से बम्बई जाना होगा। अगर वर्किंग कमिटी बम्बई में हुई तो 21/4 को ही चला जाना होगा। चक्रधर कहते थे कि तुम घर जाने वाले हो और पटने में 15/4 तक घर से वापस हो आओगे। सीताराम के घर में लड़की का गवना है ता० 16/4 को वह घर जाना चाहता है। इसलिए तुम वहाँ आ जाओगे तो आराम रहेगा नहीं तो भीड़ भाड़ में दूसरा नौकर कोई नहीं मिलेगा।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

5. *A letter from Dwarka Prasad Misra to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 10 April 1948*

नागपुर
10/4/48

श्रद्धेय बाबू जी,

महाकोशल प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमिटी के स्थायी—मंत्री श्री लक्ष्मी शंकर जी भट्ट इस पत्र को लेकर, आपसे मिलेंगे। ये प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमिटी के अध्यक्ष सेठ गोविन्द दास जी के आदेश से आपसे मिल रहे हैं। मुख्य उद्देश्य शहीद-स्मारक के उद्घाटन के लिए आपसे तारीख तय करना है।

विश्वास है कि आप स्वस्थ हैं।

भवदीय
द्वारका प्रसाद मिश्र

6. *A memorandum from A.K. Ghose and others of the West Bengal Congress Assembly Party, dated 22 April 1948*

1. We are of opinion that no outsiders shall be included in the Cabinet unless both the following conditions are satisfied:

- (a) The name of any such outsider must be sponsored by any of the three recognised sections in the Assembly.
- (b) The responsibility of providing any seat for him, if necessary, must be undertaken by the group concerned.

2. We are further of opinion that nobody from inside the Legislature shall be included in the Cabinet unless he has been actively associated with the Congress and his name has been sponsored by any of the three recognised sections in the Assembly.

3. In the selection of leadership we agree to act according to the Whip to be issued by the B.P.C.C. section in the Legislature.

4. Our views, if necessary, might be ascertained from Shri Amar Krishna Ghose.

Amar Krishna Ghose*
Bhupati Majumdar
Bimal Coomar Ghose
Satis Chandra Chakravarti
Bina Das

We met today and it was decided that the present Ministry should be reconstituted under the leadership of Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the B.P.C.C.

Amar Krishna Ghose
22.4.1948

*Chief Whip and Parliamentary Secretary.

7. *A note dated 22 April 1948 from Gulzarilal Nanda on the need for setting up a top committee to coordinate Congress work in the field of labour*

The need for setting up a top committee to coordinate Congress work in the field of labour may be briefly explained.

The Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh is the specialised agency of the Congress for attending to the needs and problems of labour. The guidance which the Sangh can provide to Congressmen engaged in labour activity should normally have sufficed. This was contemplated in the resolution passed by the Working Committee in August 1946.

The formation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress in the month of May 1947, its phenomenal growth during the short period of its existence, the activities of the Communist and the Socialist parties, and their operation in the

Trade Union movement on a purely political plane have created a wholly new situation. In the note which I submitted to the Working Committee, at its meeting in January 1948, I indicated the likelihood of developments which might shortly compel Governments in the country to have recourse to special safety measures in respect of certain leaders and organisations of labour. It is apparent that the dangers to the peace and progress of the country from this and other quarters are going to persist and multiply. It is of the highest importance that the labour situation in the country is watched closely and continuously and handled with great care.

The most desirable thing would be to have a unified working class movement. This would have been possible if the movement had eschewed party politics, adhered to its trade union basis and remained content with the pursuit of economic and social objectives. This has ceased to be so for a long time.

The Communists have all along endeavoured to subordinate trade union activity to the political aims of their party which can succeed only by subverting the existing economic and political order. The Socialist intervention in the labour movement though avowedly on lines compatible with democracy and the integrity of the state is likely, in practice in many cases, to degenerate to the communist level so far as the economic security of the country is concerned.

The brunt of the hostile forces will necessarily have to be borne by the Indian National Trade Union Congress which was brought into being sometime back to combat dangers of this character. The fortunate thing is that the Indian National Trade Union Congress has, during the brief space of 8 months, emerged as the biggest central organisation of labour in the country but in this fact lies great risks as well as great possibilities.

By joining the Indian National Trade Union Congress in such large numbers—the strength at present exceeds 7 lakhs—the working class has in a way expressed its faith in the Congress. To justify this confidence, Congress has to help the Indian National Trade Union Congress to fashion itself as a capable instrument for realising the legitimate aspirations of the working class and for defending itself and society against the political and physical onslaughts of the opposing forces. If, owing to any weaknesses within the I.N.T.U.C., or inept handling of labour issues by officers of the Government, or the failure of the Congress organisation in various parts of the country to rise to the occasion, the results fall short of reasonable expectations, disappointment and disillusion would arise with consequences of a very serious kind for the country and the Congress.

I enumerate below the elements of weakness in the situation from our point of view and the handicaps of the I.N.T.U.C.:

(1) *In relation to Governments:* (a) There is a general complaint from the I.N.T.U.C. workers that the machinery of Government—Provincial as well as Central—does not move quickly enough, irksome delays occur, and the progress of measures is very slow.

(b) There is no regular contact between the movement and Government and no machinery exists for mutual adjustment of viewpoints.

(c) In some cases it is alleged that the attitude of Provincial Governments is unhelpful so far as the I.N.T.U.C. is concerned and is more favourable to its rivals.

(d) The officials in several cases, it is stated, show lack of appreciation of the value and the role of the I.N.T.U.C. and hinder its work by the steps and decisions they take. What is required is not any special favour to the I.N.T.U.C. but, in the interests of the success of Government's own policy, certain trends can be promoted without sacrifice of impartiality in the administration of the laws.

(e) The major plank in the propaganda campaign of the Communists and the Socialists against the I.N.T.U.C. is its alleged subservient relationship with the Congress Governments. The I.N.T.U.C. is an independent organisation standing up always for the rights of the workers but impelled by a keen sense of its obligations it has pledged its wholehearted support to the Governments in their drive for production and the preservation of the economic and the political security of the land.

(f) In the present circumstances the achievements of the Congress Governments cannot but be small in relation to the needs and the expectations. This becomes a disadvantage of the I.N.T.U.C. too, because of its association with the Congress and the Congress Governments in the minds of the people. The I.N.T.U.C. workers are being called upon to explain, defend and support the general policies of the Congress Governments.

(2) *In relation to the Congress:* (a) Being known to be the Congress wing of the labour movement the I.N.T.U.C. enjoys an amount of prestige and is placed in a position of some advantage. At the same time all the discontent and the opposition affecting the Congress also gather round the I.N.T.U.C. The other parties are acutely conscious of the political value of labour and are trying to exploit it to the full. This is not true of the Congress. The Communists and the Socialists have a large number of paid and honorary full-time and part-time workers who are recruited for party work and many of them are engaged in trade union activity.

(b) The staff of the I.N.T.U.C. is exceedingly small in comparison. The position in respect of material resources is relatively on the same level. The Socialists and the Communists are applying party funds on a large scale in this field. The I.N.T.U.C. has almost nothing beyond what the trade unions themselves supply. In any contest the entire manpower, publicity and propaganda resources of these parties are mobilised in support of their labour front. Congress on the other hand usually remains indifferent and aloof on such occasions. It has perhaps in many places not even the awareness of the import of what is occurring. The I.N.T.U.C. is thus being forced to fight on a political plane without the backing of the political party with which it is linked up. It is a wholly unequal struggle.

(c) In some Provinces, the Congress organisation is still not taking kindly to the I.N.T.U.C. The Unions are being set up in opposition to the I.N.T.U.C. organisation. There is open and covert support to the A.I.T.U.C. Policies are

pursued which run counter to Congress methods and objectives.

(d) In some places, the political grouping within the Congress is reflected in the labour work and the differences between the two sections hamper the activities of the I.N.T.U.C.

Internally too, the I.N.T.U.C. does not find itself in a very happy position. There has been rapid expansion of its size and extent of the work of the I.N.T.U.C. but satisfactory arrangements have not been made so far for giving a proper direction and cohesion to this huge mass. This is due to lack of funds and inadequacy of trained personnel, but the other parties appear to be amply provided and it is generally believed that they are receiving help from some capitalists also. What very much adds to the difficulties of the task of the I.N.T.U.C. is that it has always to throw its weight on the side of moderation and restraint whereas the others may choose to make demands and go on agitating and inciting. The greater appeal of extremist ideology is also a factor on their side.

With this background of facts it will be easy to see that a very serious responsibility rests on the Congress to make the very best of the opportunity to consolidate the labour movement on the basis of Congress policy and objectives and on the ground of the larger interests of the nation. I have made some concrete suggestions already in a note dated 20-1-48 which has already been submitted to the Working Committee.

I may suggest now that in order to remove obstacles in the way of the progress of labour work on Congress lines and to draw the maximum strength for the Congress from the movement a suitable committee for the purpose of co-ordination and direction of the entire field of labour work may be set up by the Working Committee. Similar committees may also be formed in the Provinces.

Gulzarilal Nanda
22.4.48

8. *Press report on the East Punjab Congress Workers' Convention*

AMBALA, April 22.—A Convention of nearly 150 Congress workers of East Punjab was held here on April 17 and 18 last under the presidency of Lala Kedar Nath Sehgal, M.L.A., to devise ways and means to improve the "deplorable conditions of East Punjab Congress workers and the East Punjab administration".

A scheme sponsored by Pandit Siri Ram Sharma providing for the appointment of a Convener with his office at Ambala and two sub-offices at New Delhi and Amritsar to facilitate the work in this connection was unanimously adopted by the Convention. Lala Duni Chand of Ambala was appointed the Convener in charge of the Head Office and Seth Mahesh Chandra and Mr.

Raghuvansh for New Delhi and Amritsar offices respectively.

The Convention appointed a Committee consisting of Mehta Ranbir Singh, Sardar Sajjan Singh, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar and Mr. Banarsi Das to tour the Province with a view to collecting information regarding corrupt practices and reporting them to the Head Office and the Congress President.

An alternative site for the East Punjab capital was also suggested by the Committee as the one selected by the Government was according to them very fertile and thickly populated.

Prominent among those attending the Convention were Ch. Lehri Singh, Babu Bachan Singh, Pandit Siri Ram Sharma and Lala Duni Chand of Ambala and others.—U.P.

9. Agenda for the Congress Working Committee meeting in New Delhi on 30 April 1948

AGENDA

1. Bihar Zamindari Bill.
2. The position of West Punjab and East Bengal members of the P.C.C.s in the light of the new constitution and interim proposals.
3. Time-table for elections.
4. Others matters.

In terms of the provisions for interim elections the following committees have to be elected:

1. The A.I.C.C.
2. The P.C.C. Executives
3. The Executive Committees of the District and Taluk Committees.

The candidates for election to these bodies will have to be effective members. This would require the preparation of a list of such members. This should present no great difficulty. Since the A.I.C.C. members can be elected only from among delegates it would be necessary, for the purpose of the A.I.C.C. election, only for delegates to be effective members. Such delegates who are not effective members cannot stand as candidates for the A.I.C.C. The preparation of this list should not take more than a fortnight.

The D.C.C. and City Executives are also generally formed of members elected by lower Ward or Taluk Committees. Members of lower committees who fulfil conditions for effective members can alone stand as candidates for D.C.C.s and City Congress Committees. The lower Taluk and Ward Committees, if they are elected by primary members, should continue to function with their present

personnel and no fresh elections need be held.

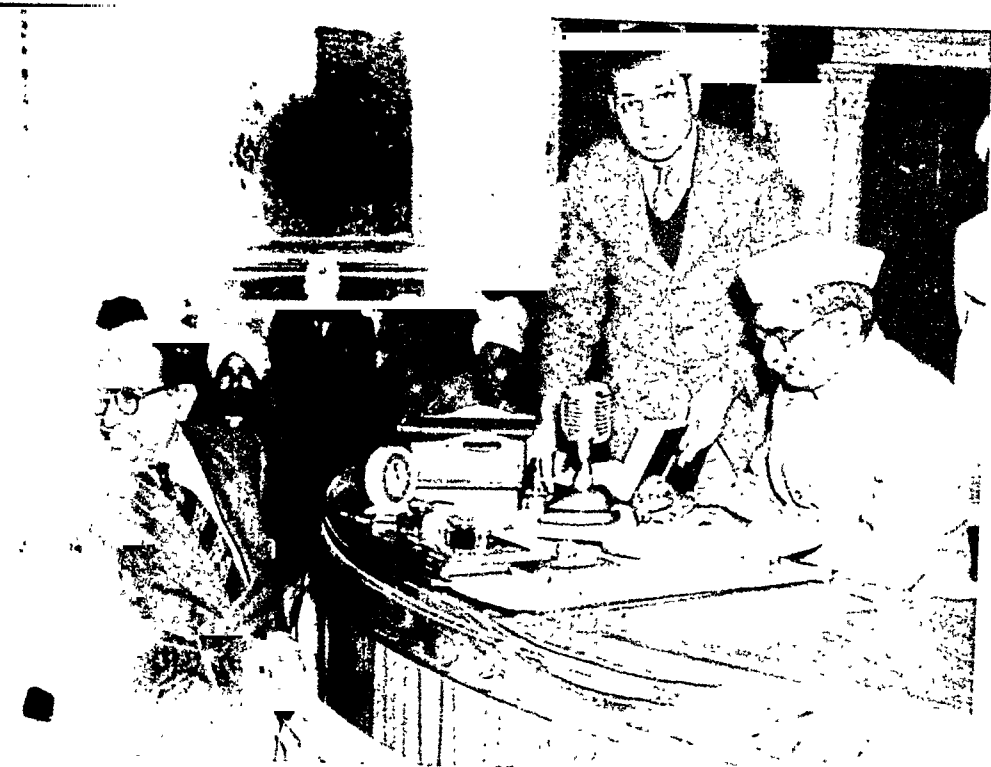
In terms of the new constitution we have to have Credential Committees and Tribunals which are elected by the P.C.C.s. This would necessitate the calling of P.C.C. meetings for electing these bodies. The P.C.C.s would have to meet again shortly afterwards for electing A.I.C.C. members. Some P.C.C.s have rightly drawn our attention to the undesirability of calling two P.C.C. meetings in the course of a month or so. Their objection is worthy of consideration. We can avoid the calling of two meetings if the P.C.C. Executive is allowed to appoint Tribunals and Credential Committees by a three-fourths majority of its members subject to confirmation by the Working Committee. The decision of the Credential Committees will be subject to appeal to the Working Committee.

Time-table for interim elections

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Preparation of the list of effective members from among delegates and members of Committees, District, Taluk and Ward, who are empowered to elect the A.I.C.C. and the Provincial, District and Taluk Executives from among themselves | 7th May to 31st May. |
| 2. Publication and display of the list in Provincial, District and Taluk Headquarters | 31st May to 7th June. |
| 3. Last date for objection to entries in the list | 14th June. |
| 4. Last date for decision of objections | 28th June. |
| 5. Final publication of the list | 7th July. |
| 6. Meeting of delegates in Provinces, for electing A.I.C.C. members | 15th July. |

10. Press statement by Bhimsen Sachar, dated 4 May 1948

I have been amused to see Dr. Gopichand Bhargava's statement that he would not recognise any group or section within the Congress Party in the East Punjab Legislative Assembly while reconstituting his Cabinet, when the main difficulty facing him today in reshuffling his Cabinet is to reconcile the rival interests. Besides ours there are four more groups existing in the Party and he has to accommodate them in his Cabinet. For instance he must give representation to groups led by himself, S. Udham Singh Nagoke, Mann Brothers and Gyani Kartar Singh. Will Dr. Gopichand be taken seriously if he attempted to form a Cabinet without the help of any of these groups, as he must, according to his statement? We on our part are not enamoured of the word 'group'; call it by any name—section, sector or group, or give it no name. We must, however, square reality in the face. If there are no sections in the Congress Assembly Party, does



Dr. Rajendra Prasad signing some important papers as President of the
Constituent Assembly



Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Jawaharlal Nehru and C. Rajagopalachari

Dr. Gopichand hope to get the votes of Gyani Kartar Singh's adherents or Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke's supporters in case any of these two group leaders pitches himself against Dr. Gopichand for the Premiership of the Province, or vice versa? The answer is apparent.

None would be happier than I and my friends if the various groups in the Party vanish, but so long as this does not happen we must deal with facts and not try to side-track the real issue which is clear that no strong, stable and efficient ministry can be formed in the East Punjab unless the cooperation of our group is secured. We have made no secret of our readiness and willingness to share the responsibility of running the administration of the Province. The offer was made to Dr. Gopichand in the meeting of the Central Parliamentary Board held at New Delhi on the 1st instant. Dr. Gopichand also knows how relieved the general public and certain high quarters would feel if an all-group Cabinet were formed in the East Punjab. We have consequently made honest and sincere efforts to facilitate the otherwise baffling task of reconstituting the Cabinet which is facing Dr. Gopichand. The whole Province and for the matter of that the whole country is waiting to know the response of Dr. Gopichand to this move on our part.

True, Dr. Gopichand has the option to spurn the offer which has been prompted solely in the interest of this baby Province which needs the combined care and nursing of all on whose shoulders rests the duty to guide its destiny. Like some of the Congress stalwarts of our group who, in spite of their old prejudices, have risen above personal considerations, I would appeal to Dr. Gopichand to rise to the height of the occasion. Nobody would be prepared to accept the excuse that a composite Cabinet cannot be constituted because Dr. Gopichand does not like to recognise any group or section within the Party when for the matter of that he himself is a member of one of them. All of us are members of the same Congress Assembly Party. We owe our allegiance to it. The leader of us all is Dr. Gopichand. All of us accept Party whip in Party matters. Not to go very far, I wish only to refer to two recent instances. In the last session of the Legislative Assembly Shri Durga Chand Kaushish had given notice to a resolution recommending to Government to set up District Vigilance Boards for putting down corruption, but Dr. Gopichand, as Leader of the Party, directed that the resolution, though balloted, should not be moved in spite of the mover's desire and notwithstanding the fact that he is one of our group. I also wanted a very important resolution bearing on Panthic demands to be considered by the Party in the month of March and for that purpose I approached Dr. Gopichand as Leader of the Party for his permission which was not granted.

In what respects, I repeat, is our combination any different from Dr. Gopichand's group? It is needless for me to say that we have no affiliation with any party but the Congress Party. We are of the Congress and, surely, merely because some of us happen to think alike it is no reason for denying us any of the privileges of members of the Congress Assembly Party. I can understand Dr. Gopichand straightaway ruling us out on personal grounds but doubtless the formula enunciated by him will give him no justification in the eyes of impartial

persons to try to set up a Cabinet not representative of all the five groups in the Party.

Bhimsen Sachar
4.5.48

11. A report on the proceedings of a meeting of the West Bengal Congress Assembly Party held on 5 May 1948

At a meeting of the Congress Assembly Party held at 36 Wellington Street at 4 p.m. today (5.5.48), 53 members were present. Twenty-two of them had sent in the following proposal for consideration at the meeting:

As the present Ministry, which includes outsiders, is not essentially Congress in character and as Congress cause and ideals are suffering, endangering thereby the success of Congress candidates at the next general election and as, further, it is not broadbased, we consider it essential that it should be reconstituted under the leadership of Sri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

As the meeting began I invited the members belonging to the group which had sent in the proposal to formally move and second it and I also urged upon the members to limit the speeches to two persons on either side because the bulk of the arguments for and against it had already been discussed threadbare in various places. The signatories then put in the following document:

As the Congress Assembly Party is almost equally divided and no stable and strong Ministry can function effectively in the circumstances, and as any recourse to voting under present conditions will accentuate differences and weaken the cause of Congress in the Province, Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has suggested that the whole matter regarding the ministerial tangle be either resolved by discussion among Party members or referred to the Central Parliamentary Board. He preferred the first course which we also do, with a view to making the Ministry stable and acceptable to the party as a whole. For creating the necessary atmosphere, therefore, we the undersigned twenty-two members present in the meeting withdraw the proposal dated 22.4.1948 forwarded by us to the Leader.

The other 31 members did not express any opinion whatsoever on this statement except to say that they did not agree with the preamble or the inferences indicated in this statement. They dissociated themselves from any suggestive inferences contained in this statement.

12. *Statement dated 5 May 1948 by twenty-two members of the West Bengal Congress Assembly Party withdrawing their proposal dated 22 April 1948 for reconstitution of the West Bengal Ministry*

As the Congress Assembly Party is almost equally divided and no stable and strong Ministry can function effectively in the circumstances, and as any recourse to voting under present conditions will accentuate differences and weaken the cause of Congress in the Province, Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has suggested that the whole matter regarding the ministerial tangle be either resolved by discussion among Party members or referred to the Central Parliamentary Board. He preferred the first course which we also do, with a view to making the Ministry stable and acceptable to the Party as a whole. For creating the necessary atmosphere, therefore, we the undersigned twenty-two members present in the meeting withdraw the proposal dated 22.4.48 forwarded by us to the Leader.

1. Devén Sen
2. J.C. Gupta
3. Charu Chandra Bhandari
4. S.C. Nundy
5. A.K. Ghose
6. B.C. Ghose
7. M.M. Barman
8. Bina Bhowmick
9. Suresh Banerjee
10. Annada Prosad Choudhuri
11. Bankubehari Mandal
12. Ardhendu Sekhar Naskar
13. Arabinda Gayen
14. Krishna Prasad Mondal
15. Kuberchand Halder
16. Jagneswar Ray
17. Satis Chandra Chakravarty
18. Khagendra Nath Das-Gupta
19. Kanailal De
20. Hem Chandra Naskar
21. Haripada Chattopadhyay
22. P.C. Ghosh.

5.5.1948

13. *Details of a fatal attack on Congressmen*

OUTRAGE NEAR MUNAGALA

Bezwada
May 11, 1948

Information has been received that two Congressmen of Munagala area, the Union enclave in Hyderabad territory, namely Messrs. R. Satyanarayana, President, Munagala Congress Seva Dal Board and member of the District Congress Committee, and K. Raghusatyanarayana, were killed by Communists on May 8, while they were returning from Repalla village to Jagannathpur. Their bodies have so far not been traced.

It is alleged that while they were going to their village Jagannathpur, about 100 Communists attacked them and killed them in broad daylight.

On May 9, Communists, it is alleged, attacked Mukundapur village in Munagala area and looted the houses of four Congressmen.

Mr. K. Venkataratnam, President of the West Kistna District Congress Committee, has sent the following telegram to the Premier of Madras:

R SATYANARAYANA PRESIDENT MUNAGALA PARGANA CONGRESS SEVA DAL AND RAGHUSATYANARAYANA A PROMINENT CONGRESS WORKER WERE ATTACKED BY 100 COMMUNISTS WITH SPEARS AND GUNS AND WERE MURDERED ON MAY 8 AT 12 NOON FOUR CONGRESS WORKERS OF MUKUNDAPUR WERE ATTACKED BY COMMUNISTS AND WERE SERIOUSLY INJURED THEY ARE LYING IN HOSPITAL PROPERTY HAS BEEN LOOTED

The District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police have received a wireless message today from the Munagala Sub-Inspector of Police about these atrocities by the Communists. Police reinforcements have been despatched to Munagala.

The President of the West Kistna District Congress Committee told me that his office was receiving numerous letters from Communists, threatening the life of prominent Congressmen of the district.—F.O.C.

14. *Note dated 30 June 1948 by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the Gandhi National Memorial Fund*

महात्मा जी के स्वर्गवास को आज 6 महीने हुए। पिछली फरवरी में कांग्रेस कार्य समिति ने निश्चय किया था कि उनकी स्मृति में धन एकत्र किया जाये और इस कार्य के लिए देश भर में प्रांतीय तथा रियासती कमेटियाँ बना दी गई थी। आशा यह की गई थी कि सभी वर्गों के लोग इसके लिए धन देंगे। प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के लिए एक निश्चित माप भी सुझाया गया था और वह यह कि हर व्यक्ति कम से कम अपनी 10 दिनों की आय इस कार्य में दें। अमीर और गरीब दोनों से ही यह आशा थी, और है कि वे अपनी शक्तिभर इसमें धन

देंगे। गरीबों से धन एकत्र करने में कठिनाई यह है कि इसके लिए एक उपयुक्त ऐजन्सी चाहिए जो उनके पास जाकर उनसे छोटी छोटी रकमें एकत्र करें। इस कठिनाई का भास हमें पहिले भी था। यह काम केवल कांग्रेस ही कर सकती है जो सारे देश में फैली हुई है। पर दुर्भाग्य से कांग्रेस कमेटियों और कांग्रेसी सज्जनों ने अब तक इस काम में वह उत्साह नहीं दिखाया जिसकी उनसे हम न्यायतः आशा कर सकते हैं। यद्यपि स्मारक समिति में सभी दलों के प्रतिनिधि हैं पर कांग्रेस जनों को तो खासतौर पर इस काम में दिलचस्पी लेनी चाहिए। कोष संग्रह के लिए जनता के पास पहुंचने की प्रधान जिम्मेदारी कांग्रेस कर्मियों पर है। इसलिए मुझे खासतौर पर कांग्रेस जनों से अपील करनी है कि वे तन मन से इस काम में लग जायें और यथाशक्ति धन संग्रह करें। प्रत्येक प्रान्त से वहां की जनसंख्या पर एक रुपया प्रतिव्यक्ति के हिसाब से धन संग्रह करना ठीक होगा यद्यपि कि प्रतिव्यक्ति से 10 दिनों की आय के हिसाब से इंकट्री की हुई रकम से यह रकम कम सम्भवतः होगी। दूसरी अक्टूबर को देश भर में समुचित आस्था के साथ महात्मा जी की जन्मतिथि मनाई जायगी। हमारा यह लक्ष्य होना चाहिए कि इस तिथि तक यथाशक्ति अधिक से अधिक धन इस कोष के लिए एकत्र कर लें। अगर प्रत्येक कांग्रेस कर्मी इस काम में अपना समय और शक्ति लगाने का निश्चय कर ले तो मुझे इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि आगामी तीन महीनों में एक बड़ी धनराशि एकत्र हो जायगी। विभिन्न प्रांतीय तथा रियासती कमेटियों को रसीद वही और कूपन दिये जा चुके हैं तथा जरूरत होने पर उन्हें और भी दिये जा सकते हैं, प्रत्येक कांग्रेस जन, कांग्रेस कर्मी तथा अन्य लोगों से यह अपील है कि इस काम में वे यथाशक्ति सहायता दें। यह स्मरण रखने की बात है कि चन्दे की तीन चौथाई रकम उसी प्रान्त के लिए सुरक्षित रखी जायगी और उसी प्रान्त में लगाई जायगी जहां से वह एकत्र की गई है और यह रकम केवल रचनात्मक कार्यों में ही लगाई जायगी जिससे कि जनता को लाभ पहुंचे। अतः जितना ही अधिक धन कोई प्रांत या रियासत एकत्र करेगी उतना ही अधिक धन उसे रचनात्मक और जनता को लाभ पहुंचाने वाले कार्यों के लिए मिलेगा। बाकी एक चौथाई रकम दुर्बल और कम सम्पन्न प्रदेशों की सहायता में, गांधी जी के लेखों और भाषणों के प्रचार में तथा उनके जीवन से संबंध रखने वाली वस्तुओं को अजायबघर में सुरक्षित रखने में खर्च की जायगी।

राजेन्द्र प्रसाद

30-6-48

(English version of the above)

Six months have elapsed since the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress Working Committee took a decision in February last to raise funds which could be utilised to commemorate his memory and Provincial and State Committees have been formed all over the country for the purpose. It had been hoped that all sections of the people would join in making their contributions to the Fund. A standard has been suggested for everyone to follow and that is ten days' income. The rich and the well-to-do are expected to pay no less than the humble and the poor. In the case of the latter the difficulty which has been envisaged from the very beginning has been one of agency to approach them and to collect their small donations. This can be done only by the Congress organisation which covers the whole country. Unfortunately, however, Congress Committees and Congressmen have so far not taken the interest that can legitimately be expected from them although the Memorial Committees

contained representatives of all parties and groups. There is no doubt that the task of approaching the masses falls primarily on Congressmen and Congress workers. I have, therefore, to appeal to them particularly to exert themselves to take up this work seriously and make the necessary collection. A rupee per head of the population will not be a bad target for a Province although it falls short of the ten days' income by each individual. The 2nd of October which is Mahatma Gandhi's birthday and which will be observed in due solemnity everywhere, should be taken as a landmark in the countrywide effort for collection and earnest effort should be made to raise as much as possible by that date. If every Congress worker makes it a point to devote his time and energy to this work, I have no doubt a considerable amount can be raised within the next 3 months. The various Provincial and State Committees have been provided with receipts and coupons and can be provided with more, if necessary. This should be taken as an appeal to every Congressman and Congress worker and to all others to put in the best in them for this purpose. It should be remembered that three-fourths of the collections made in any Province will be reserved for and spent in that very Province and the money will be spent merely on constructive work which will benefit the masses. So the more a Province or State collects the more will it have for beneficial and constructive activities. The balance of 25% will be used for helping the weaker and less prosperous areas and for propagating Gandhiji's writings and speeches and for preserving articles connected with his life-story in a Museum.

15. *A broadcast talk by Dr. Rajendra Prasad from the Delhi Station of All-India Radio on 19 July 1948 at 9-40 p.m.*

WORLD PACIFIST MEETING
(Santiniketan—January 1949)

Friends,

I am glad to be able to speak to you about the proposed World Pacifist Meeting, to be held in India in January 1949. Some of you will have heard of it already. This Meeting was originally planned to be held in January 1948 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. But early in 1947, he suggested that it would be wise to postpone the meeting till after the final withdrawal of the British from India (it was then expected that this withdrawal would take place in June 1948). The intervening period however was utilised by holding last January an All-India Pacifist Conference as preliminary to the World Pacifist Meeting of next year.

We can easily see the destructive power of violence of which war is a corollary, and when we actually witness the calamities that it brings we become more

convinced of its enormity and of the evil and harm that it can do. The misery and horror that it involves deeply move us and also create in our minds a determination to resist the forces that lead to such catastrophes. But experience shows that we soon forget the vow taken in adversity and reconcile ourselves to conditions that may lead to a repetition of the ordeal. The last World War is a near illustration and of fresh memory. It has shown how destructive violence can be; it has shown how mass killing and maiming are possible, how homes can be razed to the ground; it has demonstrated how the achievements of science which should be wholly beneficent to man, adding to his comfort and happiness, can be used as machineries of destruction, bringing utter ruin and misery upon earth; it has testified to the depths of degradation to which man can sink. We were shocked and horrified and we solemnly promised that we would not allow such a catastrophe to take place again; this was a war to end war.

And yet we cannot say now that we have been able to do much to stop the growth of conditions that make for war. Distrust, suspicion and the desire to dominate are seen on every hand. It is again the same old display of economic and military prowess. Huge armed states threaten one another with the might of new weapons which are believed to be still more destructive than those used hitherto. Are these the portents of our drift towards another explosion? If it does take place, will humanity survive? We shall have to answer this, we must accept this challenge if we want to be true to our ideals, the ideals taught and practised by our great departed Leader.

The scope of violence has not been limited to its use by big states and in corporate life alone; it has permeated the individual sphere, and we have been seeing its ugly and horrid manifestations in our daily life. It is clear that something is wrong somewhere. To my mind it is to be found in the realm of the spirit of man which should be the guiding factor of life, but is now apparently eclipsed. Goodness, Truth and other moral values which sustain this world seem to be losing their hold on us. Because we have not learnt to care sufficiently about moral values we are drifting heedlessly down a path which leads towards the destruction of mankind. Unless we now begin to change our direction, no matter what the cost, and follow the guidance of Truth, Goodness and Love, we shall one day soon find ourselves on the brink of disaster.

Even in this warring world, this age of domineering violence, there have still been people devoted to the cause of peace, steadfastly holding to eternal Truth and Ahimsa and quietly working to redeem their pledge. They do not believe in violent methods to achieve an objective. The source of their strength lies in their conviction that evil and violence can be overcome not by resorting to measures which are themselves evil and violent, but by spiritual and moral force; that real and lasting peace cannot be achieved by violence; that moral ends cannot be attained by immoral means. Like the non-violent workers in India of today, who began their activity under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, there have been workers for peace in other countries also, including Europe and America. They call themselves pacifists. They have been dedicating their lives to the cause of

peace, and many of them have undergone great suffering and hardship and persecution for their pacifist faith. The growing forces of violence have been a matter of deep concern for all such peace-workers. They have been perturbed and alarmed, and they are now convinced that something positive must be done; a concerted action is necessary and the strength of peace-workers all over the world must be pooled for this; the powers of the spirit of man must be effectively mobilised to resist the mighty forces that threaten to destroy humanity. The world must be freed from the domination and fear that have come near to strangling it. And it was felt that nothing better could be done than for a group of such peace-workers to unite under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the chief apostle of Truth and Non-violence in the modern world; so that they should be able to meet him face to face, have searching discussions with him, receiving light and inspiration; and thus try to find under his guidance a solution of the problems that seem to baffle us, a way for mankind out of the present darkness. Gandhiji expressed pleasure at the prospect of such a meeting and promised to set aside a week for this purpose.

But, alas! such a meeting in his physical presence is no longer possible. Nevertheless, the plans for the Meeting are being proceeded with as we feel he would have wished. Indeed, because Gandhiji is no more, the need for such a conference of peace-workers seems to be more urgent. The burden on us is still greater now for giving effect to the concern that we have shared with him, and for making the witness of pacifism and non-violence more effective in the world. Therefore, to go forward with the plans of the Meeting, it seemed to us, would be but the continuance of his unfinished work.

The void, as in other fields of activity, which will be felt at the Meeting owing to Gandhiji's absence, cannot be filled, but it is hoped that his close associates who will attend this Meeting will be able to interpret the working of Gandhiji's mind and his approach to non-violence and pacifism and their application to the different problems of life. It is also hoped that they will be able to share with those who come from other lands something of the burning truth about this faith which prompted all actions of Gandhiji and for which he laid down his life. This Meeting will give special consideration, among other topics, to the present world situation and try to find ways of achieving lasting peace.

It is not suggested that this Meeting will immediately yield great results in the political sphere, but it is our belief that it will be able to give a lead in generating new spiritual powers in the world. That power alone can deliver mankind from his present distress. If a group of men and women of proved courage and integrity, who have stood through all temptation for the way of inviolable peace, can meet in simplicity and intimacy, they may strengthen one another. Moreover they will fortify all people of goodwill that they may make a more effective demonstration to the world that there is a mightier force than atomic or other violent power.

The authorities at Santiniketan have most kindly offered to make the necessary arrangements for the Meeting which they consider to be in line with the

life-work of the founder, Rabindranath Tagore. The main Meeting at Santiniketan will commence about the middle of January 1949 and last for a week. Thereafter, arrangements will be made for those invited from overseas to visit some of the important cities of India where open meetings will be arranged, so that other groups and the public in general may have the opportunity of meeting them. It is expected that they will be able to spend a few days at places where they can see the various constructive projects started by Gandhiji and meet the workers there. The Meeting will be attended by about 25 close associates of Gandhiji in India and about 50 people from other countries including England and the Continent, the Americas, China, Japan and other countries in South-East Asia as well as from Africa and Mid-Eastern countries. Among those invited from overseas there are some people of international repute.

It is very fitting that India should be the venue of this World Pacifist Meeting; for, is not India the country where the message of Truth and Ahimsa first dawned and where in some form or other this tradition has been carried on through the centuries; and has not India been the place of birth and work of the first active exponent of this creed as well as of its chief apostle in the modern world? We believe that India, with her many seeming shortcomings, has still a message for mankind and she may yet be able to do much to save it from destruction and light the Lamp of Peace in our darkened world. It is obvious that this World Pacifist Meeting is going to be of considerable significance, specially to India who will play the host. This Meeting, besides its pacifist purpose, will have an international character; for the invitees coming from various countries of the world will bring with them their own background and culture, and the Meeting no doubt will afford an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and for better understanding between the peoples of different nationalities. And the visitors when they return home will also take with them a first-hand knowledge of India and her people and will, we hope, disseminate it in their own countries.

Jai Hind!

Rajendra Prasad

16. *An editorial in the "Indian Nation", dated 22 July 1948, entitled 'Move for Bihar's Dismemberment'*

Some industrialists and others, who have ruthlessly exploited this province for all these years, have lately become perturbed. They find that with the growing consciousness among the people of Bihar it may become extremely difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, to continue this kind of exploitation much longer. Bihar has the richest mineral resources in India but this province has been one of

the poorest. The condition of Bihar's people in mining areas is much worse. This is because the industrialists, both Indian and British, have managed things in such a manner that except being employed as labourers in mines on ridiculously low wages and total absence of other facilities (there have recently been some improvement under the directions of the Government of India), the people of this province have been very little benefited by the industrial undertakings in Bihar. This state of affairs was going on merrily under the British rule. The agents of British Government in India had to safeguard the interest of British industrialists and in so doing they had necessarily to shut their eyes to the exploitation of the people of this province not only by British industrialists but also by their Indian counterparts. The feeble voice raised by public men of Bihar as a protest against this shabby treatment to the people of the province was drowned in expansive atmosphere of the authoritarian rule. The British rule has now ended for good but the industrialists want to continue their stranglehold on the rich mineral resources of this province. British industrialists are too demoralised to have any courage to conspire and manipulate. Therefore, Indian industrialists have undertaken this task upon themselves.

For some time past, we find that a paper agitation has been launched for carving out an 'industrial province' consisting of rich mining areas of this province and also some portion of West Bengal under the Central Administration. Many mushroom bodies are springing up to sponsor and support this move and with the purse of industrialists behind this agitation, this plan is being widely publicised and the Ministers of the Government of India, specially Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, are being flooded with petitions, memoranda, letters and telegrams. We had hoped that with Pandit Nehru's categorical statement at Ootacamund that no portion of Bihar could be given to Bengal or any other province this agitation for an "industrial province" would be given up. But certain industrialists have abiding faith in the power of their purses and other resources. The latest shot in the propaganda is a letter said to have been written by Mr. D.C. Driver, President of the Coal Consumers' Association of India in which Mr. Driver says that "the Association is very much perturbed by the Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Bill and the mining regulations issued by the Bihar Government as they will gravely affect the present and future production of coal". According to the letter "the Association is also disturbed by the prospect of the high feelings roused by the Bengali-Bihari controversy affecting the production of coal". The Association has, therefore, urged that in these very difficult circumstances the only practical solution of the "dangerous" influences that are besetting the production of coal, which has been described as the bread of industries, is to carve out a new province under the Centre.

Mr. Driver has lately received some publicity as a trenchant critic of Congress Ministries. His speeches as President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce attributing all-round incompetence to Congress Governments have frequently brought him in the news. But we frankly confess that this 'Coal Consumers'

Association of India' has not been heard of outside Calcutta. We do not know when this 'Coal Consumers' Association of India' was started and how far it is a representative body of coal consumers all over the country. The coal consumers of this province, at any rate, have nothing to do with C.C.A. of India. Mr. Driver's reference to Bihar Zamindaris Abolition Bill will not deceive the opponents of that Bill. It was due to the pressure of industrialists that the abolition of zamindaris became part of the Congress programme. The Birla-Tata plan is the proof of this assertion. It is too late in the day for people like Mr. Driver to camouflage their real intention by this or that subterfuge. With regard to the mining regulations issued by the Bihar Government, we have ourselves condemned this action most unequivocally because we felt that the Provincial Government had no business to fix mining regulations contrary to the Central Government's proclaimed industrial policy. But it will be preposterous to suggest that this solitary instance of indiscretion on the part of Bihar Government makes even a fraction of the case for a separate province being carved out of industrial areas of Bihar. It is surprising that the Bengali-Bihari controversy has been cited as one of the reasons for carving out this "industrial province". Indeed the high feelings roused in Bihar as a result of Bengal's demand for certain areas of Bihar should have been a strong reason for not making any other demand for dismemberment of Bihar. But in his eagerness to strengthen a hopeless case, Mr. Driver has tried to twist the logic in his favour.

If Mr. Driver's arguments are to hold good then India should have not only an 'industrial province' but it should also have a 'tea province', comprising tea gardens and tea factories in Assam and West Bengal, 'jute province' comprising jute growing areas and jute mills in West Bengal and Bihar, 'rice province', 'cotton province', and so on and so forth. Just before the partition of India some interested industrialists, backed by British interests, had started an agitation for making Calcutta 'a free city'. The plan appeared much more attractive than Mr. Driver's plan for an 'industrial province' but the Bengal leaders and the Congress High Command set their foot down because they had little difficulty in knowing that the move was a sinister one and was enunciated with the object of escaping the consequences of democratic rule. We hope the Central Government will issue a categorical statement without undue delay so that these fissiparous tendencies do not get any encouragement. Such agitations are very harmful in the interest of the Indian Union. They create undue bitterness among the various sections of its people. These are really treasonable if a long-range view of the consequences is taken. Those industrialists in Bihar who are directly or indirectly associated with the agitation for dismemberment of Bihar should realise that it is not in their best interest to create unnecessary bitterness between themselves and the people of this province. We are believers in harmony. Free India can progress only when different sections of her people discard petty selfishness and work for the good of the country as a whole. The country can be industrialised and the production can be increased without carving out an industrial province.

17. *Press communique, dated 23 July 1948, issued by the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India*

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
(LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION)

Council House
New Delhi
July 23, 1948

The Linguistic Provinces Commission has been appointed by the Hon'ble President of the Constituent Assembly to examine and report on the creation of the proposed Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra and on the administrative, financial and other consequences that are likely to follow. The communique issued by the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India, dated the 16th June 1948, may be seen in this connection.

The terms of reference to the Commission are as follows:

- (1) What new Provinces, if any, from among those specified in the paragraph above should be created and what broadly should be their boundaries?
- (2) What would be the administrative, economic, financial and other consequences in each Province to be so created?
- (3) What would be the administrative, economic, financial and other consequences in the adjoining territories of India?

The Commission will greatly appreciate the assistance and cooperation of the public in the performance of the onerous task entrusted to it and will welcome written memoranda from public institutions, organised associations and prominent members of the public interested in the inquiry which it has undertaken.

The Commission has issued a questionnaire on the subject and will be thankful if those who submit memoranda to it follow the lines indicated in the questionnaire and give facts and figures in support of their opinions.

All written memoranda should be addressed to the Secretary to the Commission at New Delhi, so as to reach him not later than 16.8.48.

Enclosure:

(Questionnaire regarding the proposed Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra)

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
(LINGUISTIC PROVINCES COMMISSION)

PART I

1. Should Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala or Maharashtra be constituted into a separate Province on a linguistic basis?

2. What should be the boundary of the new Province? Please mention the districts and taluks which you would wish to be included in the new Province and give reasons in support of your opinion.

3. Should the new Province be constituted into a full-fledged Governor's Province with a Council of Ministers, the Legislature, a High Court, an Advocate-General, a Public Services Commission and an Auditor-in-Chief?

4. What do you think of the alternative scheme of constituting the proposed Province into a sub-Province of an existing Province with autonomous administrative machinery of its own?

5. Should the new Province have a separate administrative machinery for all the Government Departments, or should it have joint administration for any of the Departments with a neighbouring Province? Under this head the following subjects may be considered: (1) Justice, (2) Police, (3) Public Works, (4) Medical and Public Health, (5) Higher Education, and (6) Forest.

6. What should be the strength of the Council of Ministers? What pay and allowances would you recommend for each Minister?

7. Should the Legislature of the new Province be unicameral or bicameral and what should be the salary of its members?

8. How many Judges should the High Court have besides the Chief Justice?

9. How many members should the Public Services Commission have including the Chairman and what should be their salary?

10. Should the new Province have a University of its own? If so, should it have an honorary Vice-Chancellor or a salaried one and, in the latter case, what should be his salary?

11. Should there be a head for each Department of Government (including the Board of Revenue) or would you like to have more Departments than one placed under one controlling officer? Indicate the heads of Departments which you would propose for the Province and the salary that you would allow to each.

12. What scales of pay would you propose for the various Services?

13. If you find it convenient, please prepare rough estimates of income and expenditure of the new Province under the various major heads.

14. If, according to your estimates, the probable revenues of the new Province are not sufficient to meet the expenditure and the new Province is faced with a recurring deficit, how would you propose to meet the deficit? What steps would you recommend for increasing the revenues of the Province? Would you suggest fresh taxation? If so, please give details.

15. Do you contemplate the merger of any Indian States in your Province? If so, which and why? Has the opinion of the people of those States been ascertained to be in favour of the merger? Suppose the States do not wish to join your Province, would you still have the new Province created?

16. Where should the seat of Government of the new Province be located? How would you meet the cost of the creation of the new capital?

17. What would be the economic consequences of the creation of the new Province? Under this head the following subjects may be considered: (1)

Agriculture, (2) Industry, (3) Forest, (4) Minerals, (5) Trade and Commerce, (6) Economic Development, (7) Public Health, and (8) General prosperity of the people.

18. What in your opinion should be the basic principle or principles for the division of assets and liabilities?

19. Do you think the creation of the new Province will lead to a large-scale transference of population and consequent human suffering? If you do, what steps would you suggest for its prevention?

20. Have you any proposals to make regarding the cities of Bombay and Madras (including the ports and suburbs)? Do you think they should be included in any Province; if so, which? Would you favour the formation of these cities into separate Provinces or sub-Provinces? If so, please give facts and figures in justification of your viewpoint.

PART II

(For Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and Hindi C.P.)

21. Do you agree to the carving out of the proposed new Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra?

22. What effects, administrative, financial and economic, are likely to be produced on the remaining parts of the existing Provinces after the new Provinces have been formed out of them?

23. Please prepare rough estimates of income and expenditure under the various major heads for those parts of the existing Provinces which would remain after the creation of the new Provinces.

N.B. Replies to this questionnaire should reach the Secretary of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, Constituent Assembly of India, Council House, New Delhi, by the 16th August 1948.

18. *A letter from Muzaffar Hasan to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 23 July 1948*

संयुक्त प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटी, लखनऊ

संख्या 814/33042

लखनऊ
23/7/48

मान्यवर महोदय,

आपके ता० 17 जुलाई के दो परिपत्र, एक प्रान्तीय कांग्रेस कमेटियों के नाम और दूसरा प्रान्तीय सरकारों

के प्रधान मंत्रियों के नाम, आज मिले। सभापति जी ने इन दोनों परिपत्रों को कार्यसमिति में रखने का आदेश दे दिया है।

आपका
मुजुफ्फर हसन
मंत्री

श्रीयुक्त डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद
राष्ट्रपति अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी
7 जन्तर मन्तर रोड
नई दिल्ली

19. *A letter from Abul Kalam Azad to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 29 July 1948*

कलकत्ता
29 जुलाई 1948

मुहब्बी!

कलकत्ता से बार-बार तार आ रहे हैं। वसन्त लाल के तार से मालूम होता है कि 149 दरखास्त मंजूर कर ली गई है। पार्लियामेन्ट्री बोर्ड में हम जिस नतीजे तक पहुंचे थे वह यह नहीं था। वही हाल मालूम होता है कि कलकत्ता की पार्टीबाजी का असर आल इंडिया कांग्रेस के दफ्तर के अन्दर भी काम कर रहा है।

अबूल कलाम

20. *A note dated 30 July 1948 from the Treasurer, Gandhi National Memorial Fund*

GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND

New Delhi
30 July 1948

In the enclosed letter the Agent, Central Bank of India Ltd., Secunderabad Dn., reports that owing to the recent Ordinance of Nizam's Government, he is unable to transfer the money at the credit of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund to any of the banks situated in the Indian Dominion. This raises a difficult issue, and as a result of a discussion with Acharya Kripalani the letter is put up for the President's orders. It may be possible for our government to negotiate

with the Nizam's Government for a relaxation of the ban so far as the collections for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund are concerned. Failing this, we shall have seriously to consider whether the collections in the Hyderabad State should not be stopped, having regard to the possibility of any such funds being freezed or even diverted by the Nizam's Government to other purposes.

For order,

(Sd.)
Treasurer
30.7.48

President, Indian National Congress.

Enclosure:

(Letter from the Agent, Central Bank of India Limited, Secunderabad Dn.)

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LIMITED

16 July 1948

Dear Sir,

Under the Ordinance of H.E.H. The Nizam's Government, we beg to inform you that we cannot transfer funds from here to any of the Banks situated in Indian Dominion. Under the circumstances, we have not transferred the amount, which please note.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.)
Agent

The Agent
The Central Bank of India Ltd.
New Delhi.

Copy to:

- (1) The Treasurer, Gandhi National Memorial Fund, New Delhi.
- (2) The Secretary, Gandhi National Memorial Fund, C/o The Mercantile Bank of Hyderabad Ltd., Hyderabad (Dn.)

21. *Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Pacifist Meeting held on 11 October 1948*

Present: Sri Chotelal Jain (in the chair); Sri Bejoy Singh Nahar; Rev. Horace Collins; Swami Nityaswarupananda; Hugh Seeds; and Hiralal Bose.

Apologies for absence were received from Dr. W.M. Hume, Gladys Elphick.

The Minutes of the last meeting were confirmed.

The Committee considered the letters from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the following cable from Horace Alexander:

BOAT PASSAGES SEEMINGLY IMPOSSIBLE STOP IN VIEW THIS AND
FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES SUGGEST POSTPONING CONFERENCE ONE YEAR
STOP PLEASE CABLE YOUR VIEW TO ME CARE OVERSIGHT LONDON

ALEXANDER

The feelings of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, that "I myself have long felt very diffident about holding the Conference here at this time. There are many factors that will militate against it being a success. I do not think enough preparatory work has been done in India to make this Conference a success", as well as Dr. Rajendra Prasad's and Rathindranath Tagore's concern for funds were noted. Although they are aware of the financial and other difficulties, the Committee was deeply distressed at the suggestion of the postponement of the Conference. They feel that only lack of funds would be sufficient reason to postpone the Conference. The worsening international situation, however, makes it all the more urgent that the Conference should be held as planned next January. Enquiries from within India show the great interest the Conference has aroused, and the extent to which people look forward to it to give a lead in the solution of the many problems that confront humanity today. Even greater is the keenness to attend on the part of those invited and their conviction that this Conference will yield some concrete results. In view of the above and of the part that the plans have progressed so far, the feelings of the Committee are that the Conference should not be postponed except for financial reasons. If boat passages are not available for invitees from Europe, arrangements should be made for them to come by air. The extra expense involving in this will be covered by the Emergency Reserve provided for in the budget.

Reported that Sri Bhagirath Kanoria has been informed about the above-mentioned correspondence. The Committee was very sorry to note that he has been in ill health which prevents his coming to Calcutta. It was hoped that he would be fit again soon. The Committee were convinced that only a man in his position could raise the requisite funds in the short time available. The Conference agreed that if at least one half of the budgeted sum were not collected before the end of the month, it will be impossible to proceed with the plans of the Conference.

Among other means of collecting funds it was suggested that Srijut Kanoria, if necessary with one or two other members of the Committee, should call on likely donors with the personal letters of appeal by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. If he is not fit enough soon, he is requested to depute someone else for this purpose. It was felt that the bulk of the necessary funds will have to be raised in Calcutta and

Bombay area.

Hiralal Bose was asked to go and see Kanoriaji at Naini Tal and explain matters to him, impressing the need of the raising of funds, *immediately*. He was also asked to visit Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Dr. Rajendra Prasad and discuss matters concerning the Conference.

The Committee is very grateful to Dr. Rajendra Prasad for his very kindly signing the large number of appeals for funds in spite of his ill health, and hopes that he will be fit again soon.

Reported that Hiralal Bose visited Santiniketan, and discussed matters concerning the Conference with Sri Rathindranath Tagore and others. It was agreed then that 2/3 of the members of the Committee should visit Santiniketan again early November when a Committee should be set up there for catering and other arrangements of the Conference.

Hiralal Bose attended the Conference held from 30th September to 3rd October at Tirupattur as preliminary to the World Conference next year. The findings of this Conference will be circulated to members soon. Hiralal Bose also visited Madras in connection with next year's Conference which has aroused great interest there. A Sub-Committee is being formed there to help raise funds and in other organisational matters of the Conference.

The Committee welcomed Hugh Seeds who is now helping with the work of the World Pacifist Meeting.

A well-attended public meeting was held in Calcutta on the 14th September with H.E. Dr. K.N. Katju, Governor of West Bengal, in the chair, when the objects of the Conference were explained and appeal for funds were made.

Reported that the suggestion of a meeting of the All-India Committee at Wardha in late November or early December has been well received by members of the General Committee, but it was agreed that discussion of this subject be postponed till after Hiralal Bose's return from Naini Tal and Delhi.

22. *Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Pacifist Meeting held on 22 October. 1948*

Present: Srimati Renuka Roy, Srimati Sujata Roy, Miss Mary Cumber, Mrs. Gladys Elphick, Dr. W.M. Hume, Dr. Kalidas Nag (in the chair), Rev. Horace Collins, Swami Nityaswarupananda, Sri Hiralal Bose, Mr. Hugh Seeds.

Apologies for absence were received from Dr. H.C. Mookerjee.

1. *Postponement of the World Pacifist Meeting.* Reported that, as a result of the receipt from Horace Alexander in England of a cable saying "Boat passages seemingly impossible stop in view this and financial difficulties suggest postponing conference one year stop please cable your view to me care oversight

London", discussions were held with some members of the committee who suggested that Hiralal Bose should immediately visit Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Sri Bhagirath Kanoria and obtain their opinion. Having seen them he has now returned and reported as follows:

In spite of the representation by high Government officials sufficient boat passages for invitees from overseas are not available. The alternative is air passage for which a large additional sum of money will be necessary. The response to the public appeal has been very poor, total contribution being about Rs.600. And it will be very difficult to raise the budgeted amount in the short time available. Therefore Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Sri Bhagirath Kanoria suggested that the Conference, scheduled to be held next January, should be postponed. Rajkumariji also felt that the present conditions in India were not very favourable for the Conference, and that sufficient preparatory work had not been done. If the Conference were postponed for, say, a year, the intervening period could be profitably used by doing more preparatory work. It will prepare the ground for the Conference in a better way which, it is hoped, will be attended with a greater success.

2. *Preparatory work.* It was a great disappointment to the Committee that the Conference should have to be postponed, but they appreciated the circumstances which necessitated such postponement, and this decision was taken with the greatest regret and reluctance. The work that has been done all these months, however, will not be lost. It was hoped that, when held, the Conference will prove to be of very great value and significance. It was emphasised that the progress made in the work and the interest created in the Conference must be maintained. Profitable use should be made of the intervening period. Different parts of India should be visited, objects of the Conference explained to the public there, and Committees set up for further work and specially for raising funds. The Secretary should visit the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress in December, and try to make personal contacts. The periodical issue of a Newsletter might also be considered. The work of publications should be completed as soon as possible. It was felt necessary that there should be a small Standing or Advisory Committee which can meet fortnightly or so and advise on the organisational work. Those of the members of the Executive Committee who can spare the time to serve on such a Committee are requested to inform the Secretary.

3. *Announcement.* Presently a brief communique announcing the postponement should be issued under the signature of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who has kindly agreed to do this, and later on a fuller statement should be issued giving the dates when the Conference is to be held. It was stressed, however, that before such dates are announced it must be guaranteed that the necessary funds will be available.

4. *Interim Conference.* A Conference of the members of the two Committees should be arranged soon to discuss plans for the World Meeting. Sevagram, Santiniketan and Delhi have been suggested as the venue. There was a suggestion that it would be of some significance if the Conference were to take place at Santiniketan on the dates of the original World Pacifist Meeting. Santiniketan is nearer to Calcutta, where the Executive Committee functions, and is as easy to reach as Sevagram from Delhi and not so much farther from Madras. It is very important that Horace Alexander should be present at this Conference. In the meantime, the members of the Committees are requested to send to the Secretary their views on the postponement of the Conference as well as suggestions regarding dates when the Conference should be held. The circulation of a Questionnaire for the Conference was considered.

5. *Funds.* Much thought was given as to how to raise funds and several suggestions considered. The suggestion of the setting up of a large reception committee and the raising of funds from its members was not appealing, for this may necessitate admitting such members into the Conference, resulting in the change of its character. Nor was the idea liked that the Government should be approached for funds. Reported that it was unlikely that any grant could be obtained from the Gandhi National Memorial Fund. It was felt that personal approaches with letters from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to individuals and organisations in the different parts of the country may yield results. It was impressed that if the Conference should be held in the cold weather of 1949-50, the necessary funds must be raised before the end of March next.

6. The Committee extends its grateful thanks to Sri Bhagirath Kanoria for advancing Rs.5,000 for office and other organisational work.

7. The Committee is very grateful to Dr. Rajendra Prasad for his kindly signing the large number of appeals for funds in spite of his ill health, and hopes that he will be fit again soon.

8. *Visit to South India.* Hiralal Bose attended a Conference held from 30th September to 3rd October at Tirupattur as preliminary to the World Conference next year. The findings of this Conference will be circulated to members soon. He also visited Madras in connection with next year's Conference which has aroused great interest there. A Sub-Committee is being formed there to help raise funds and in other organisational matters of the Conference.

10. The Committee welcomed Hugh Seeds who is helping with the work of the World Pacifist Meeting.

11. A well-attended public meeting was held in Calcutta on the 14th September with H.E. Dr. K.N. Katju, Governor of West Bengal, in the chair, when the objects of the Conference were explained and appeal for funds made.

Hiralal Bose
Organising Secretary

23. *Letter to all invitees to the World Pacifist Meeting*

1 Upper Wood Street
Calcutta
October 22, 1948

Postponement of the World Pacifist Meeting

Dear Friend,

It is with the greatest regret that we have to tell you that it has become necessary to postpone the World Pacifist Meeting for a year. There have been delays and difficulties about getting adequate representation from some parts of the world, and in publishing preliminary material. More serious has been our delay in raising the necessary funds. But we should have made every effort to carry on and overcome all those difficulties, had we not suddenly been confronted with an ultimatum from the travel agents telling us that steamship passages could not be made available till next spring. We have done our best to get priority passages through the good offices of high government officials; but none can provide all that we need. And we cannot think it is right to go to the length of providing air transport for most delegates, as this would add enormously to the cost.

We realise that a number of those who had accepted invitations have had to make elaborate arrangements for leave of absence from their work. If you are one of those, please accept our very deep apologies. And please tell me what we can do to help you. If you are already put to serious expense which cannot be recovered, please do not hesitate to let us know, and we must see how this may be put right. We greatly hope you may be able to attend the conference next year, for which arrangements will be made without delay, including a request for the reservation of passages next December. It is possible that a few of those invited for this year will have got so far with their plans that they will proceed to India. In that case, we assure you a very warm welcome and we will arrange for you to visit Santiniketan, Sevagram and other centres, and to confer with leaders of the non-violent movement in India.

It will no doubt be felt that the postponement of such a meeting at a time like this, when the mobilisation of the peace forces of the world is so urgent, is a very grave step. So, indeed, it is. But the meeting we are planning and hoping for in India has never been intended as a meeting that can take immediate action to stop the drift towards war. Its task is the more fundamental one of trying to turn the whole mind of man towards another way of life. That cannot be accomplished in a day. The year's interval must be spent by every one of us in renewed and intensified action for peace. Then, let us hope, we shall all be more fit to meet and strengthen one another in the world effort. The peace of the world, we shall surely all agree, depends not only on a single world meeting, significant as we hope that may be, but on our whole-hearted commitment to the way of peace. Perhaps the way in which each of us responds to this grievous

disappointment will itself be the best evidence of our spiritual vitality. Let us pray to God to make us purer instruments of his will, so that, when we meet a year hence, his power may be more able to work through us for the healing of the nations.

Yours sincerely,
Horace Alexander
Hiralal Bose

24. *Press communique issued by Dr. Rajendra Prasad on 1 November 1948*

Dr. Rajendra Prasad issued the following Press Communique on 1st November 1948:

The public are aware of the plans for a world pacifist meeting to be held at Santiniketan in January 1948. Unfortunately sufficient boat passages for invitees from overseas are not available and also more time is being found necessary for the preliminary preparations for this meeting, including the task of raising the necessary funds.

It has, therefore, been decided that the Conference should be postponed to a later date. The dates of the Conference will be announced later.

25. *An article (in two parts) by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, published in the "Harijan" dated 5 December and 12 December 1948*

A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

(I)

The principal languages of India, apart from the dialects, are Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Kannad, Oriya and Assami. Each is the written and the literary language of a large number of people and is prevalent in pretty large areas in the country. Of these Hindi in its various styles of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani is the most widely prevalent. The question has been raised as to what should be the language in which the governmental and administrative work of the Union Government of India should be carried on. It has been accepted as a self-evident proposition that one such language is necessary. At the same time there is also a desire that each of these languages should be the official language within the area where it is prevalent. Each area

will thus have two languages to deal with—one for its local or provincial purposes and the other for all-India purposes unless the language that is chosen for all-India purposes happens also to be the language of that particular area. While the desire to have a common language for all-India administrative purposes and another language for provincial purposes appears to be natural, the implications of such a desire are not always fully visualised.

The problem is not a new one. It has arisen in the past. There was a time when Sanskrit was used for all-India purposes throughout the country although it was not the language of the common people, but only studied by the select few. Not only were poetry and belles-lettres written in that language but also all serious works on philosophy, medicine, engineering, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy and other sciences were written in that language by every author who aspired to have an all-India appeal. Law books were also written in Sanskrit. Sanskrit was of course the vehicle for sacred literature. I do not know if there ever was a conflict between Sanskrit on the one side and any of the provincial languages which all appear to have derived not only a great deal of the ideas but also of their vocabularies from that source, although it was naturally to a lesser extent in the South where the languages have an altogether different source than in the north and west where provincial languages are said to have very largely been drawn or derived from it.

When the Muslims came to India and became its rulers, they used their own language for governmental and administrative purposes but otherwise they let Sanskrit and provincial languages alone. The language of Islam is Arabic. It is the language of the Holy Quran, the Hadis and a great part of the religious lore of the early Muslims. But Arabic was not the language of the Muslim rulers of India who adopted Persian as they were more familiar with it than with Arabic. Arabic in India thus has remained more a language of the learned priests and *alims* rather than of Muslims as a body. Persian became the court language and was for that purpose studied on an extensive scale not only by the Indians who had embraced Islam but by Hindus also. The Persian language and literature have of course been very largely influenced by the Arabic language and literature but so far as India was concerned, it was more Persian than Arabic which was adopted. Persian had become so prevalent that it was adopted as the official language for administrative purposes even by a large section of ordinary people just as we see today many Indians carrying on their private business in English. I have seen the accounts and records of some zamindars kept in Persian language till so late as the nineties of the last century.

When the English came they used their own language for administrative purposes and gradually replaced Persian by English and all those classes that had used Persian during the Muslim period and had continued to use it by sheer inertia till many years after the British rule had been established also gradually displaced Persian and adopted English in its place. The result has been that English has now been accepted for some years past as the language not only for governmental and administrative purposes but also by business firms and others.

This was inevitable because ever since English was adopted as the medium of instruction it has gone on spreading until it became the medium not only for all higher education in the universities but also in lower forms of schools. Only during recent years when the national movement grew and gained strength that Indian languages began to be considered as media of instruction in schools and today several universities have decided to adopt them although no university has yet completely done so.

What the Muslim rulers or the English did in India is what has been done everywhere all the world over when one nation has conquered another or established its rule over another country. Now that foreign rule has ceased, the desire has naturally been expressed that all our transactions should be in our own language. But as I have said above there are several languages prevalent in different parts of the country and it is necessary, therefore, to have one language for all-India purposes. There is no question of forcing any language of any one part of the country on others and thus establishing a sort of linguistic imperialism any more than there is any question of establishing or enforcing a government or administration on any part of the country not acceptable to it. It is here that the difference arises between the common language that will be now accepted by the country as a whole on the one hand and Persian or English on the other. The common language of today will be voluntarily accepted as such by those people and those parts whose language it is not, whereas, there was no choice left to the people when the Muslim rulers imposed Persian and the British the English language. But once this point is fully grasped, it will not be difficult to understand its implications in the context of modern conditions. When communication was difficult and quick movement impossible, the necessity of a common language was not so great or easily seen; but modern conditions and means of transport and communications have changed the face of things so much that it becomes very difficult now to keep any part of the country aloof from any other part. The Hindu law gave to local customs the same sanctity and sanction as to the *Smritis*. That was because each area or community grew more or less independently in its own way, of course influenced but not always limited and determined by any overriding law. We have thus an infinite variety of customs which do not, however, destroy but only illumine and beautify the overall unity. The position today is that not only on account of modern conditions but also as a result of the British rule we have great deal of law that is common to the whole country. The legislation during the last hundred years or more having been all in English language in all the Provinces and many of the States also, is understood and, where necessary, studied by lawyers all over the country. The judgements of High Courts being all in English are studied, cited and referred to even when not followed by all other High Courts. So also the proceedings of the legislatures of various Provinces being largely in English are available to other Provinces just as the proceedings of the Central Legislature. The question arises that if we adopt one language for the Union governmental and administrative purposes and each linguistic area is to have its governmental and administrative work carried on in

its own language, where we shall draw the line. If legislation in each Province is to be in the language of that Province then every other Province is deprived of the advantage and opportunities of knowing it just as that Province is unable to profit by similar legislation in other linguistic areas. The court language of each linguistic area will naturally be the language of that area and therefore the judgements of its High Court will not be available for citation before other High Courts just as its High Court will not be able to derive any benefit from the precedents of other High Courts. What will be the language of the Supreme Court? That will, I presume, be the all-India common language. How will the Supreme Court decide appeals against judgements written in different languages? Its judges may not be expected to know ordinarily more than two languages—one of the area to which they belong and the other the common language of India. Will they then go by translation of decisions appealed against? It very often happens in the final court of appeal that a judgement appealed against is the last of a series of decisions on a point of law extending over many years and it has happened in the past and it may happen in the future that such a decision is upset thus upsetting the authority of the whole series of decisions. How are the lawyers and judges in the District Courts and in the Provincial High Courts to keep themselves in touch with the latest decisions of the Supreme Court? All these questions can be answered only in one way and that is that the administrators, lawyers and judges not only in the Central Government, Supreme Court, the Provincial Governments and the Provincial High Courts but also lower down and members of legislatures should be acquainted with at least the all-India common language sufficiently to enable them to carry out their duties. It follows that the common language will have to be studied by a large body of persons and if democracy has to function successfully, it should be as widespread as possible if not coterminous with the entire population of the country. It follows that apart from cultural purposes the use of the common language will have to grow more and more.

Let us look at the same question from another point of view. Are our universities which are not unnaturally adopting provincial languages as media of instruction within their respective jurisdictions to grow independently of each other without any intercourse and without any relationship? In what language are our research journals to be published? Are they to be in our provincial languages or in the common language? If the former, how are the students, teachers and research workers in other linguistic areas to profit by the work done in one area unless they know the various languages? If they are to be in the common language, then all the research workers must possess a pretty high standard of proficiency in that language. How is that proficiency to be attained unless the common language is studied with diligence and its study holds out prospects of preferment? The English language has been studied with great success in India because proficiency in that language was a *sine qua non* for material success in every department of life during the British rule.

Any attempt to reconcile conflicting claims is always a difficult task but it has

to be faced. Here we have to reconcile the claims of linguistic areas and all India and if we once concede, as it is accepted by all the different units, that India has to be maintained as one single unit, the claims of all India have to be admitted. If that requires a curtailment of what are considered to be the rights of particular regions and areas, that has to be put up with. For political purpose this has been accepted and not only in the Draft Constitution but also in the existing Constitution Act of 1935, the fields of the Centre and the Provinces are meticulously defined and limited. In matters of overriding importance the Centre's supreme position is whole-heartedly accepted. So it must be in the case of the common language also. Its limitations may be defined but that it has a wide field to cover cannot be denied. It necessarily follows that the system of education should also be so revised as to fit in with this purpose.

Rajendra Prasad
29.11.1948

(II)

The need and implication of a common language for India being established, the question that arises next is what language can be that common language. It is suggested in some quarters that English has already acquired that position and there is no reason why it should not be continued and why it should be displaced by any Indian language. It is true that English is at the present moment doing what such a common language is expected and intended to do. It has also the advantage of having a rich and flexible vocabulary and it is understood over a large part of the world and has acquired an international status and utility which it would be difficult for an Indian language to acquire. With all this advantage, however, English has not taken root in this country and once the state patronage which it has been enjoying is withdrawn, it will cease to make that widespread appeal which it does today. Besides, any foreign language will be exotic in all parts of the country and no part of the country as a whole can acquire it in a way in which it knows its own language. So English will have to be studied and its study kept up by an artificial state help; it will never take root and will never be the language of the masses of any part of this country whereas any Indian language will be the language of, at any rate, some part of the country and will be the language of all the classes and masses of that part of the country. It will also have affinity with a number of other provincial languages and thus easily assimilable by the people in those Provinces also. Our choice must, therefore, be confined to an Indian language. It does not mean that we shall have to cease learning English altogether. For all international purposes English will have to be studied. It will also have to be studied for the rich heritage it has got in the shape of its vast stock of literature—scientific, philosophic and literary. But then it will have to be studied by a few and the intensity of its study will also depend upon its utility for the particular use to which it has to be put. Even today many Indians learn other foreign languages for enabling them to study scientific and research

journals and for other similar purposes.

Among the Indian languages the choice will naturally fall on the language which is most widely known and understood and Hindi or Hindustani, by whatever name we may call it, is the obvious choice. It has a good literature, it has capacity for development and it is allied to all the languages of Northern India and can be easily learnt by people speaking and knowing any of them. Even the South Indian languages have a large admixture of words of Sanskrit origin, particularly Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. It must, however, be recognised that the vocabulary of Hindi or Hindustani will have to be greatly enriched to make it a vehicle for expressing all kinds of modern thought—scientific, legal, administrative, political, engineering, industrial, etc. This is the case with all the other Indian languages. Further, the common language of India has to be made as easy as possible for regions where it is not known and understood. It is therefore necessary that Hindi or Hindustani cannot afford to adopt a policy of boycott of words which a purist will consider to be of foreign or doubtful origin. Before trying to coin a new expression the first attempt must naturally be to find out an existing word which has become or can easily become assimilated. The provincial languages are also developed languages and have much to contribute to Hindi or Hindustani from their vocabulary and there is no reason why an expression which is common in one or more of these provincial languages should not be acceptable to Hindi or Hindustani. Not only words in use in literary forms of expression but even the dialects can contribute a great deal. As has been pointed out by Pandit Ramnaresh Tripathi, the village dialects are living languages and have been constantly coining very expressive words to meet new requirements. I may mention as an illustration how verbs are made out of nouns in dialects of Hindi-speaking parts where literary Hindi would express the same idea by bringing in or adding another verb. Thus from *mati* (earth) the verb *Matiana* has been derived which means both washing a pot after besmearing it with earth or covering something with earth. Similarly from *hath* (hands) we have *hathiana* (take in hand) but usually expressing—taking in hand unlawfully or by grabbing. From *lat* (foot) we have *latiana* which means kicking. From *pith* (back) the verb is *pithiana* which means pushing from behind, etc. A language does not lose but gains by addition to its vocabulary whatever the source of the additional word may be and any growing language is bound to have considerable additions to its vocabulary from year to year. If we examine the various editions of a common popular English dictionary like Chambers Dictionary which have been brought out during the last 50 years, we shall see what a tremendous difference there is between an edition 50 years ago and one published today. As a matter of fact, apart from the additional words incorporated in the body, every edition has an appendix or supplement containing a large number of words which are in the process of gaining currency and have not become altogether assimilated. Hindi or Hindustani, therefore, will have to adopt a most liberal policy of taking words which can be assimilated whatever their origin may be. In course of time words will acquire different shades of meaning and the language

26. *A clarification by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, published in the "Harijan", dated 26 December 1948*

A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA—CLARIFICATION

Shri K.G. Mashruwala has asked me to clarify two points arising out of my articles recently published in the *Harijan*.

1. *Language of High Courts, Universities, etc.* With regard to the first, he writes:

On the question of the language of High Courts and the medium of instruction in Universities, do I understand you correctly that you are of the opinion that it should be the common language of India in both the cases, and not the provincial language?

Subject to change of opinion on further consideration, my present feeling is as follows:

(i) The number of judgements to be appealed against before the Supreme Court, or deserving of being reported in Law Reports, is generally very small. In the first case it would not be very difficult to have the necessary records—including judgements of the High Court—translated into the common language. Even otherwise a good many original documents and records of proceedings of lower courts would have to be translated as at present. Translation into the common language is much easier than into English.

With regard to Law Reports, it could be arranged, I feel, to have report-worthy judgements authoritatively translated into the common language if they are not so already. They will be very few out of the several delivered from day to day. To avoid possible mistakes of translations, either the original judgements might also be reported, or there might be a double series, one in the provincial language and the other in the common language.

(ii) But this does not mean that the provincial language alone should prevail in the High Courts. Both in High Courts and Universities both the common and the provincial languages should prevail equally. All students and professors in Universities, and legal practitioners and judges in Courts, who speak the provincial language must be permitted to use that language. But with regard to those coming from other Provinces, while they should be expected to understand and follow the provincial language, they should be at liberty to express themselves in the common language. As students and others belonging to the Province will be expected to have a good and sound knowledge of the common language (indeed, much superior to what

they have of English today) they should not have any difficulty in following it. This would enable Universities and the judiciary to draw upon the talents of other Provinces. All-India academies, in whatever Province located, should, of course, use the common language. Time will decide whether the common and the provincial languages run a parallel course abreast or one gains precedence over the other in some parts, while the contrary is the case in others. In any case the common language will not be neglected.

(iii) This should solve the legislative problem also. Even if all legislation throughout the Union is originally passed in the common language, its translation into the local languages will be necessary for the information of the public. While university students, lawyers and others might be expected to have a good command over the common language, the same cannot be said of all legislators. Their convenience demands that legislation should be originally in the provincial language in the provincial legislatures. But every Province should also publish its common language translation and in case of multi-linguistic Provinces or for those legislators who prefer to speak in the common language there should be no obstacle in doing so.

In any case translations are unavoidable. Either you have to translate for the public, or for ex-provincial purposes. It would help the development of the provincial languages side by side with the common language if the original work is in the language of the Province.

I think I have sufficiently indicated in the first article that the study of the common language will have to be intensified. I envisage a time when every person in India claiming to be educated will know at least two languages, namely, the common language and the language of his own region. In a vast country like India this is the only possible solution if any kind of uniformity has to be maintained or rather if the country has not to be broken up into more or less independent units, each having a language of its own which will be different from that of other regions. It will, therefore, be necessary to intensify the study of the common language throughout the country. It may not be necessary for the Universities all over the country to make the common language the medium of instruction but there is no doubt that a great many of their students will have to study the common language diligently if they hope to serve the country and keep themselves in touch with things of common interest all the country over. Lawyers, judicial officers, members of legislatures and teachers in superior grades must know the common language if they hope to be able to discharge their duties satisfactorily. As I have said, we cannot have research journals in about a dozen languages. Apart from the cost involved, the utility of such journals will be greatly diminished, if not destroyed, even for this country, not to speak of their being used in foreign countries. If they are conducted in the common language, they will be available to all research workers in the country at least and if they are of a standard high enough to command respect of scholars outside the country, the common language will be studied by foreign scholars also for keeping

themselves up-to-date by studying Indian research journals. Therefore, what I contemplate is that as the study of the common language advances and deepens, it would be utilised more and more in all spheres of activity where the appeal has not to remain confined to the limited regions but is addressed to the country as a whole. I do not know and cannot say at this stage when, if ever, it will be possible for all the High Courts to accept the common language for their purposes. If that is not accepted, then in that case there is no doubt that their important decisions on law, as also, under the like contingency, all the laws passed by the legislatures in the different regions will have to be made available in translation in the common language to the rest of the country and the accuracy of the translation will have to be guaranteed by the authorities concerned. Unless at least this much is done, it will be impossible for the different regions to keep themselves posted with the affairs of the other Provinces. I also contemplate that in every Province there will be some newspapers in the common language which will circulate all over the country just as English newspapers do today.

If all this has to be done, then there is no escape from the fact that Universities and other educational institutions should be able to give instruction in the common language of a pretty high order so that University students who care to go in for high administrative posts, for a political career and for high scientific and technical attainments, journalism, etc., should be able to attain high proficiency in the common language. For this purpose study of the common language as a second language will have to be made compulsory from the high school stage onwards in every Province and its study will have to be encouraged in every way.

No one need be frightened by this. I think Indians have a genius for learning languages and once this position is understood they will not take much time in mastering the common language whatever their own language might be. English is completely a foreign language and yet the very first generation of students after its introduction showed high proficiency in it. Ever since then proficiency in the English language acquired by Indians has not increased; knowledge of the English language has spread only in extent, not in depth. There is, therefore, no fear that if systematic instruction is started, any particular region will be left behind in the race of life. Such apprehension as there may be can easily be removed by some device for removing undue advantage which any particular region may have in this respect.

11. *The Use of Sanskrit.* Shri Mashruwala's second reference is as follows:

The knotty and controversial point with regard to the eighth clause of your excellent conclusions is not that several new words will have to be drawn from Sanskrit, but the type of the words and the way in which they will be drawn or coined from that language. You must have seen my comments on the *three translations* of the Draft Constitution in the *Harijan* (28-11-48) on this point. I strongly feel that the coined words should be such as would fit in well with the structure and genius of our spoken

languages, and be lovable for their simplicity to ordinary men, women, and children of all Provinces for their sounds and pronunciations. They must avoid pedantry and love for ostentation in style as much as possible.

I have suggested in the eighth conclusion of my article Sanskrit as a source from which we shall have to draw if we have to coin new words. I agree that in this matter pedantry should be avoided and as far as possible coined words should fit in with the structure and genius of the spoken language and be lovable for their simplicity. How far that will be possible, it is difficult to say but there is no doubt that our efforts should be in that direction.

Rajendra Prasad
Wardha, 10.12.48

27. A statement issued by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, on 8 January 1949

It is highly necessary to collect all important material about Mahatma Gandhi before it becomes too late. India has been criticised for its proverbial neglect of its historical material. Let us not be guilty of the same neglect towards the rich material connected with Gandhiji's life and work.

The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Memorial Trust) has decided to build and maintain a Gandhi Museum where relics of Mahatma Gandhi—things of his personal use and other things having historical or sentimental value connected with Mahatma Gandhi; letters, articles, and documents written by him or at his dictation, his voice as recorded, photographs, paintings, cartoons, etc., of Mahatma Gandhi, poems and folksongs dealing with events in the life of Mahatma Gandhi, all literature in all languages by and about Mahatma Gandhi, will all be collected, preserved and made available to the public. Films recording some events in his life will also be preserved.

Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar has kindly consented to take up the work of collection and he has been authorised by and on behalf of the Gandhi Memorial Trust to collect, preserve and display all such material, at any convenient place till a permanent museum is built to house these things. People, throughout India and outside, are earnestly requested to cooperate with Shri Kakasaheb by sending him whatever material they have in their possession, or at least by supplying him with all necessary information about such things so that he may take steps, where possible, to secure them. He has made adequate arrangements for the preservation of these things in the Prince of Wales Museum and in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay, pending the setting up of a special museum.

It is particularly desired that all books connected with Mahatma Gandhi should be collected in sufficient numbers, before they are out of print, so that the

idea of maintaining a number of well-equipped Gandhian Libraries in India and abroad may not be difficult of fulfilment. It is hoped that authors and publishers, in India and abroad, will send copies of all their publications regarding Mahatma Gandhi, his life, ideas and activities to Shri Kaka Kalelkar, Gandhi Smarak Sangraha, Town Hall, Bombay.

28. *A statement by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 17 January 1949, on the first death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi*

Twelve months have passed away since the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. The first death anniversary is going to be observed on the 30th of January. We Hindus observe the death anniversary of our ancestors, but it has become only a form except perhaps in some rare cases. It will be a tragedy greater than the one which was enacted on the 30th January 1948, if we also are to reduce this observance to a mere form or ceremony. We must utilise this occasion for bringing to our mind the great virtues which the Mahatma embodied and for strengthening our own resolve to adopt them in our individual and national life.

What is it that makes the Mahatma so great in the eyes not only of his followers and countrymen, but also in the eyes of others in other countries many of whom have never seen him in flesh and blood and never contacted his body? It cannot be his politics. India can never forget that it was his tremendous efforts and consummate leadership which helped the country in regaining its lost independence. But that by itself would not and could not appeal to foreigners who were not interested in our freedom and certainly not to Englishmen who stood to lose so much by our attaining freedom. It cannot be his religion. He used to call himself a Hindu. Hinduism could not appeal to or attract followers of other religions, specially those who believe in proselytisation, and yet we know many pious Christians who have paid unstinted tributes to his life and work. It cannot even be his faith in non-violence and truth, specially the former, because even those who do not believe in non-violence and are actually engaged in violence, have not hesitated to acclaim him as a great soul. It cannot be the simplicity of his life, his richness in poverty, because he had many followers who do not believe in non-possession or in very simple life. It cannot be his oratory because all those who are able to judge agree in holding that he did not possess any great oratorical gifts. It cannot be his learning or intellectual attainment, because admittedly he was not very learned and all through the period when he was engaged in the various movements he did not have much time to read.

Various people have ascribed his greatness to various traits of character and various activities of his life, but it is wrong to ascribe his greatness to any one single trait of character or activity. His was a very busy life and there is hardly any department of life, individual, social or political, which did not receive his attention and there was no problem for which he did not suggest a solution; and

yet when he was asked to write a textbook which would summarise his teachings in a systematic way, he expressed his inability to do so. He used to say that he had certain fixed principles and essentials and he applied those principles to the problems as they arose, and found solution for them in the light of those principles and essentials. Because he had not thought out a comprehensive programme, he was not in a position to produce a textbook on 'Gandhian philosophy' of life and work. That does not mean, however, that it is not possible for others to collect together in a systematic way the substance of his teachings as is done by a textbook on any subject. It would, therefore, be rash for anyone to take up one particular phase of his work, and look upon it as the greatest contribution to contemporary thought and activity. Nevertheless, bearing this limitation in mind it can be safely asserted that it was the application in a practical way of the principles of Truth and *Ahimsa* which, according to him, can be synthesised into Truth alone, that secured for him a hearing all the world over from even people holding different faiths, belonging to various social systems and engaged in different kinds of work. Truth and *Ahimsa* are taught by most religions and have been promulgated by all seers, teachers and prophets. But they have been applied and taught as virtues of individuals to be followed by them in their individual lives and never practised or sought to be applied on the scale and in all fields and phases of human activity, except perhaps in some rare cases. He applied them to family relations, to social matters, to inter-communal dealings and to national and international affairs. His great discovery, if discovery it can be called, was the method by which he applied them to vastly differing conditions and on a scale which may be said to be universal. It was, therefore, possible on the one hand to fight British imperialism and yet remain friend of the British people; to encourage and organise small hand industries like spinning and weaving which were expected and indeed intended to replace textile mills and yet command the sympathy and support of their owners; to point out the weakness of our social organisation and yet to get the confidence even of those whose cherished beliefs were thereby not only damaged but in many cases destroyed; to speak the truth with fierceness and yet not to offend those who became thereby discredited.

It is not that he was never misunderstood in his life or that people always treated him kindly; but he knew that even those who were fierce in their denunciation of him would one day realise their mistake and confess it. An early example of this has to be found in his life in South Africa where a Pathan under misunderstanding severely assaulted him, and yet later on he confessed his mistake and begged his pardon. The last and the most tragic illustration of this is furnished by the misunderstanding about his motives and activities in regard to Hindu-Muslim relation. The Mussalmans in 1920-21 during the days of the Khilafat movement regarded him as their greatest champion and friend. This attitude of theirs underwent a change and, during the period of agitation for the establishment of Pakistan, he was regarded by many of them and particularly by the top leaders of the advocates of partition as the arch-enemy of Islam and they did not hesitate to dub him as enemy No. 1, and yet when the unfortunate

Hindu-Muslim riots occurred in connection with the partition of the country he came to be regarded by many of them as the one friend on whom they could rely. His death made them realise that they had lost a true friend and servant and many of those who had dubbed him as enemy No. 1 did not hesitate to express their sorrow at the tragic death of one whom they should have regarded as their friend No. 1. It was not only the Mussalmans that misunderstood him. Many Hindus looked upon him with suspicion and ultimately it was a Hindu hand that lodged the bullets into his body and yet that Hindu has his own philosophy and his own justification. But I have no doubt in my mind that the world will in no time know that even those who had a hand in his murder or who gave it their explicit, or even implicit or unconscious approbation will regard it as a great tragedy and an act of sacrilege. We have, therefore, to draw lessons from his life and remember them on this solemn occasion and make fresh resolve to walk in his footsteps and uphold the teachings which will never become stale or out-of-date. It is necessary to remind ourselves on this occasion of the particular application of his principle to our communal relationship which was in fact the immediate cause which moved the hand that fired the pistol. He wanted us all, to whatever faith we belonged, to live together in harmony; to forget others' misdeeds and forgive them; to remember our own misdeeds and make amends for them; never to forget that it is love which creates and hatred always destroys; that all life, particularly human life, is sacred and does not become less so because a person holds a different faith or may be even guilty of heinous misdeeds. We must never forget the weak, the helpless and the poor to whatever faith they may belong and that our lives should be dedicated to their service. Service should be real and genuine and not a mere make-believe. If we hold fast to the principles of Truth and *Ahimsa* we should be able to see things and events in their true perspective and may not be betrayed, as we so often are, into undesirable and wrong thoughts and deeds. Each one should look into his own heart, into his own mind, thought and action and to see if they conform to the teachings of the Master. This will be a true observance of the first anniversary of his death.

Rajendra Prasad
17.1.49

29. *A statement by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 2 February 1949, on the Sevagram Pacifist Conference*

The readers of the *Harijan* are aware that in 1947 it was proposed that some persons earnestly interested in peace should visit India and discuss with Mahatma Gandhi the problems of world peace. Mahatma Gandhi advised that the Conference should be held not in 1948 but after the British army had withdrawn from India and January 1949 was fixed. Unfortunately, however, before the Conference could be held Mahatmajji was assassinated. It was felt by

those in India and elsewhere that the project should not be given up and that it was all the more incumbent upon those left behind to carry it out. For various reasons among which the principal were our own unpreparedness and the difficulty in securing ship passages for those coming from foreign countries, the Conference which was fixed for the middle of January 1949 had to be postponed. It was decided however to have a preliminary conference to consider and undertake the necessary preparation for the postponed World Pacifist Conference. This Conference accordingly met most appropriately at Sevagram on the 26th, 27th and 28th January last.

The first question that the Conference took up was that of fixing a date and the programme of the World Conference. It was decided that the World Conference should be held in two parts, the first part being held at Santiniketan as had been originally arranged and the second part at Sevagram. The Conference at Santiniketan would meet from December 1 to 8 and after about three weeks' adjournment during which the foreign delegates might visit various places in the country where they could not only see something of the life and culture of the people, but also have talks and discussions regarding the objects of the Conference, it could meet again for a few days in the first week of January 1950 at Sevagram. A resolution to this effect was passed and the public were invited to take part in the preparations for the World Conference and to form local groups or committees to discuss the application of the principles of non-violence to the conflicts amongst classes and nations. Some fifty active workers for peace have been invited from Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia to attend the World Meeting of Pacifists and it is estimated that even when the expenses of the delegates from some of the countries like the U.S.A. and England will be met by those countries, the Invitation Committee will need about 2½ lakhs to meet the other expenses of the Conference in India and a request has been made to the public interested in world peace to help raising this fund by responding generously to the appeal that had been made.

The Conference then discussed for two days the various aspects of the problem of peace with special reference to the practical application of non-violence, the relation of constructive work to it as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi. Shri J.C. Kumarappa, Secretary of the Gram Udyog Sangh (All India Village Industries Association) founded under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, opened the discussion and finally a resolution was adopted urging Governments and peoples to remind themselves constantly of the remarkable success of the use of non-violence in the attainment of Indian freedom and earnestly to seek those forms of non-violent expression to settle difficult problems and situations. The desire of the Conference was expressed to unite with all men of goodwill in seeking for positive measures to induce peace-mindedness in the people generally, especially in the rising generation. It was decided to form a fellowship in India whose primary concern will be to help in the realisation of a world order based on Truth and Non-violence, to strive for the realisation in India of such an order of society, to work for the removal of causes of conflict among groups and nations, to

promote international understanding and to organise local peace units for allaying conflicts in an effective manner.

Indian members of the Conference felt and expressed their anxiety regarding the situation in India and confessed to a certain incongruity in it in the land of Mahatma Gandhi's birth and activity in that both the people and the Government were not able to implement in actual life the lesson of *ahimsa* which the Mahatma had taught and practised. The tendency towards militarisation as witnessed by schemes for military training in educational institutions and the continued heavy expenditure on development and equipment of the armed forces was noted with concern. It was felt, however, that although unable to implement non-violence, the Government were ever conscious of Mahatmaji's teachings and the leaders of India were constantly reminding themselves and the people of the success achieved through non-violence, and it was hoped that they would be able to rise above the circumstances which were forcing their hands at present.

The work before the Indian lovers of peace at the present moment is to prepare for the World Conference, and for this purpose not only the necessary finances have to be raised but even more important than that is the creation of the necessary atmosphere by public and group discussions amongst all classes of people. It is hoped that the country will respond and prove its abiding faith in the teaching of the Master by establishing effective peace and goodwill among all its inhabitants and thus opening the way for its wider operation.

Rajendra Prasad
2.2.49

30. *A statement by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, dated 13 February 1949, on qualifications of representatives to the State Assemblies and the House of the People*

The Constituent Assembly has taken two very far-reaching decisions regarding the future Constitution of India. It has deliberately chosen the British model in preference to the American model of democratic constitution. It has decided in favour of adult suffrage and direct election of members to the House of the People and the State Assemblies. We have thus by one leap as it were reached the stage which was reached by England after a long struggle extending over centuries in the course of which many traditions and conventions have grown up which are no less important and binding than any provision in a written constitution. The first elections under the new Constitution will involve participation in them by a very much larger number of men and women than have participated in any election ever held in the world's history till now. The organisation required for conducting them will be vast and the total expenses

involved cannot be easily estimated. The results of such elections may well defy all forecasts.

The question which naturally arises is: Will the elections give the best results, that is, will they return people who are best fitted morally and intellectually to give the best and most suitable laws and to run the administration of the country in the best possible way so as to realise all the high hopes that have been formed of our national government? In all elections there are two factors which have to be counted: the education and vigilance of the electors, and the ability, public spirit and devotion to duty of the elected representatives. In taking the decision which the Constituent Assembly has taken, it has proceeded upon the assumption that every individual who has attained the age of 21 possesses the necessary education and is capable of exercising the vigilance necessary in electing a fully qualified legislator, unless he is disqualified by proving his inability to escape the verdict of a court declaring him of unsound mind or bankrupt or punishing him for certain crimes. It is a very big assumption on which we have proceeded, particularly in the absence of any background of recent experience and traditions of democratic elections on such a vast scale. The constituencies will be tremendous. In the case of State Assemblies, they will comprise about 75,000 people of whom somewhere between 40 and 50 thousands will be voters assuming that each constituency will be a single member constituency. In the case of the House of the People, the constituencies will be ten times as large. Will it be possible for the voter to know his representative and to keep any kind of control over him, and for the representative to maintain any contact with his electors? The chances are that the voter will vote for a candidate without knowing much about him. I think this happens in other countries also and by itself will not be a big handicap, provided the candidate happens to be a fit and honest person and not a selfish and unscrupulous adventurer. The Constituent Assembly has not yet taken any decision regarding the qualifications of a candidate, and the Draft Constitution has made no recommendation on the point. The question requires and deserves serious consideration.

The function of the Legislature is to make laws and in the system which has been adopted it also runs the administration through its representatives who take and hold office only so long as they enjoy its confidence. It is well known that a public servant who has to carry out the administration in accordance with orders issued by a minister or with policies laid down by him is a highly qualified man who has been given special training for the particular job he is entrusted with. For example, the police officer and the ordinary policeman are trained in one way while the officer dealing with the revenue and expenditure of the State is especially qualified in accountancy. Similarly, other officers and men concerned with other departments have their special training. The person entrusted with the duty of administering the law and the person who has to assist him in the discharge of his duties are both required to be highly qualified. Does it not sound strange that while the persons who carry out policies and execute orders or who administer the law are required to be specially qualified, the person who

31. *Copy of a letter from Bhimsen Sachar to Jiwan Lal**

My dear Pandit Jiwan Lalji,

You will remember that I was to go to Wardha along with Shri Shankarrao Deo to meet the Congress President. On arrival here on the 3rd instant I found that Shri Shankarrao Deo had left for Wardha along with Dr. Gopichand that very morning. I therefore, postponed my visit to Wardha till another appointment had been fixed.

After Dr. Gopichand's return from Wardha some papers flashed the news that he had been given a blank cheque by the Congress President. On my drawing the Congress President's attention to this report I was informed that Dr. Gopichand had not been given any blank cheque and that if he wanted a change in the present Cabinet the names of new Ministers should be submitted to the Congress President for his approval. It is evident that Dr. Gopichand has not been able to decide upon new names, if any. For, if it were otherwise why should a month have elapsed from the time of his re-election as Leader of the Party without re-shuffling the Cabinet?

The Congress President Dr. Rajendra Prasad arrived here on the 19th instant. I along with Shri Kedar Nath Sehgal, Pandit Siri Ram, Shri Ranbir Singh Mehta, Shrimati Shanno Devi and Shri Durga Chand Kaushish met him on the 20th instant. I had occasion to see the names of the signatories who had expressed confidence in Dr. Gopichand after the 30th March 1948. They number only 29 exclusive of the 23 old Panthic members. The 29 members include the names of Master Kabul Singh, Ch. Suraj Mal, Ch. Sumer Singh, S. Rattan Singh, Ch. Mehar Chand and Ch. Sant Ram. I know you will be disappointed to find the names of Ch. Sant Ram and Ch. Mehar Chand in the list. But one thing significant about them is that they signed the statement on the 2nd April, evidently under very great pressure, and I am sure you will agree with me that they will not fail us in an hour of need. Of course it would have been much better if they had resisted the pressure as they had been till the time of their signatures; with the exception of these two friends our remaining strength is intact. This being so, we can any day become a majority because with the proposal to expand the Cabinet to 11 having been, as it appears, sternly put down several members would like to come over to us. Already they are contacting us. Situated as the relative strength of the two groups in the Party is, Dr. Gopichand may not be able to form a stable Ministry. An unstable Ministry in a border Province like the East Punjab is full of danger to the Indian Union. Since your group wants to strengthen the hands of the Indian Union in every possible way I, in accordance with the policy laid down by us at Simla, have assured the Congress President of our willingness if he would move to bring about a just and honourable settlement between the two groups. Dr. Gopichand is resisting to be converted to this view. For want of time his further meeting with the Congress President has been postponed till the latter's return from Bombay, which will probably be on the 28th instant. The position, therefore, at the moment is that the idea of expanding

the Cabinet is not favoured. A composite Cabinet would be welcomed by the general public. It remains to be seen if Dr. Gopichand will respond to the public opinion or would prefer the continuance and intensification of a tug of war between the two groups.

I should be glad to have your view on the above observations.

What is the state of administration in your constituency? I hope there are no glaring instances of official injustice and high-handedness. What are you doing in particular to relieve the distress of the refugees in your constituency? What special steps do you think will be immediately taken to relieve the misery of the unfortunate refugees?

Yours,
Bhimsen Sachar

*The letter bears no date.

32. *Copy of a letter from Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy to Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh**

Thanks for your letter.

If the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly desire me to take up the leadership and the responsibilities of the office in order to form a strong and broad-based Ministry, I am prepared to accept the same.

I hope, however, to get your support and cooperation in the difficult task ahead.

As regards assuming office immediately and postpone my departure to Delhi, my difficulty is, besides my commitments made previously to attend the meeting of the Educational Conference on the 16th and 17th, I had an urgent call from Sushila Nayar to be at Delhi today to see Mahatmaji.

I hope, therefore, that you will continue in office until I can come back.

I hope to be back by Monday.

T.V.R. Tatachari, Secy.
for Dr. B.C. Roy

*The letter bears no date.

33. *A note by A. Kaleswara Rao on Communist activities in Hyderabad State**

The Communists claim that the Andhra Province including Telangana in Hyderabad State is their greatest stronghold in the whole of India. Vijayawada (Bezawada) is the headquarters of the Andhra Communist Party. The Telangana Party is only a branch of this. There is a strong Executive which consists of the leaders of both the Indian Union Andhra and Telangana Communist Parties.

P. Sundarayya is the accredited leader of the whole party. He is a member of the All India Communist Executive. He is now underground. The Communists have spread in Telangana during the Second World War and have captured the Andhra Mahasabha. Ravi Narayana Reddy, their leader, has become the President of the Andhra Mahasabha and continues so even now. Particularly in Warangal and Nalgonda districts which lie on the borders of Guntur, Kistna, West Godavari and East Godavari districts and many villages have come under their complete sway. The Congress-minded leaders of Telangana have started a separate organisation called the Andhra Nationalist Association which became affiliated to the Hyderabad State Congress as the Andhra Provincial State Congress Committee after the ban against the State Congress was lifted by the Nizam Government in August 1946 during the Prime Ministership of Sir Mirza Ismail. Hyderabad State consists of sixteen districts of which Telangana districts are eight, and Marathwada are five and Kannada are three. Telangana has half the population of the Hyderabad State, that is, 85 lakhs out of 170 lakhs. It is contiguous to the Andhra area of Madras and the city of Hyderabad, Secunderabad and Warangal are as much Andhra as Vijayawada, Guntur and Rajahmundry. Till the State Congress resolved to fight for responsible government and accession of the Nizam to the Indian Union the Communists under their leaders Ravi Narayana Reddi, B. Yellareddi, Makdum Mohiuddin and others were getting stronger and stronger in Telangana and they were backed up with funds, workers and literature from Vijayawada. The *Prajasakti* at Vijayawada which was started as their weekly organ in 1942 was made a daily paper from 1946, and it is the source of inspiration for Telangana also.

In the Kistna district the Munagala paragana which is itself a conclave surrounded on all sides by the Nizam Telangana areas became the stronghold of the Andhra Communists who obtained great influence among the peasants and the other masses by exploiting the strained relations between the zamindar and his tenants. The Communist-controlled Ryots' Association in that zamindari area has a membership of thirteen thousand today and there are more than 700 active Communist Party members including 100 paid workers in that small area of 40 villages consisting of a population of 28 thousand. The neighbouring Lingagiri paragana which is another conclave has also come under Communist influence very much. The Government of Madras, we must say, has neglected the situation developing there. After the war was over the Hyderabad Government began to attack the Communists; and after the State Congress began their Satyagraha movement from 7th August 1947 the Hyderabad State would neither tolerate the State Congress nor the Communists there. The Nizam Communists could easily cross the border and come over to the Munagala paragana and settle there with their colleagues, strengthening the Communist influence on the Madras side of Andhra. They even came to Vijayawada and other places in Andhra and strengthened Communists there.

In the Vijayawada municipal elections as many as eight Communists were returned as Councillors in September 1947 owing to the present ministerialist

group in Congress setting up rival candidates in every ward of the Municipality to the official Congress candidates set up by the West Kistna District Congress Committee and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. The ministerialist group led by one M. Chitti N. Veera Raghavaiah, M.L.A., and a municipal markets contractor, Diswarla Venkateswarlu, who are the representatives of Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, the Revenue Minister, and of Mr. K. Chandramouli, Local Administration Minister in the city and district, and through them of other Ministers, and who are influencing the officialdom of the Kistna district as such, set up their rival candidates mostly as Vijayawada Kenthra Congress workers and some as Congress independents and distributed all sorts of nasty pamphlets in the elections against all official Congress leaders like the President of the District Congress Committee, the General Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, and Sri A. Kaleswara Rao, M.L.A., Member, All India Congress Committee, who represents the city of Vijayawada in the Legislative Assembly. They also committed several acts of rowdiness with impunity. This group even preferred to help the Communists rather than allying themselves to official Congress. They spent several thousands in the elections but could only get four candidates as against nineteen official Congress candidates and two Muslim Nationalists who support the official Congress Party. Again in the Chairman's election this group did their best to set up with the help of the Communist councillors a rival candidate to Dr. T.V.S. Chalapathirao who was declared as the official candidate by the Provincial Congress Working Committee. At last, finding that they could not get even a respectable minority vote, they gave up setting up a rival candidate for the chairmanship and Dr. Chalapathirao has been returned unanimously, and the official Congress candidate was also elected as the Vice-Chairman in spite of this group supporting the Communist candidate. Ever since the Chairman's election this group is doing its best to create all difficulties to the Chairman with the help of Communists and are attempting to organise a no-confidence motion. Thus a pact has been entered into between this group and the local Communists and the pact has the support of the two above-mentioned Ministers. When Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, Revenue Minister, came to Vijayawada after the municipal elections he went to the Communist Party office and took tea with them though the D.C.C. President and Shri A. Kaleswara Rao declined the invitation and told the Minister not to go. The District Collector and the District Superintendent of Police had to follow the Revenue Minister for tea with the Communists. The illegal unveiling of an ugly statue of Gandhiji in a public street without the permission of the Municipal Council by Mr. Venkata Rao and the interference of Mr. Chandramouli when the Council was filing a suit for seventy thousand rupees against their group leader Diswarla Venkateswarlu above referred to have become public scandals. When the Communists enacted a Telugu drama, the 'Ma-Bhoomi', in the Banqueting Hall in the Government House for which permission was given by another Minister, Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, Revenue Minister, delivered a lecture extolling it and it is reported that he said in that gathering that a hero depicted in that

drama should come to save the country. It is also said that he paid a donation of Rs.100 on that occasion. When he went to Munagala he was greeted by Communists with more than a thousand red flags and received their address. He also opened the Communist Peasants' rally in the Gokhale Hall at Madras. He gave instructions to the District Collector to act according to the advice of his group in Vijayawada and not help the Hyderabad refugee camps started by the Provincial Congress Committee under the chairmanship of the Congress Municipal Chairman. Under the immediate presence of Mr. Kala Venkata Rao, the ministerialist group of M.L.A.s and other Congressmen started the Andhra Provincial Progressive Congress Workers Party in the Government House at Madras with Mr. Chitti above referred to as the convener and resolved to hold a Provincial Conference soon at Bezwada. The Andhra Ministers are supporting their own Congress group in administrative affairs for their own purposes and are treating with hostility other Congressmen in Andhra districts. This is encouraging maladministration and corruption and is helping the anti-Congress elements like the Communists and the people at large have lost faith and respect for the Congress. As the veteran Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah wrote to Mahatmaji about the corruption prevailing among the Congress legislators and their constant interference with administration and Mahatmaji referred to it in his evening prayer speech, the ministerialist group in Guntur district published a most nasty pamphlet against Shri Konda Venkatappaiah and distributed it in thousands throughout Andhra. It shows to what depths of degradation Congress has been taken by the ministerialists. The prominent ministerialist M.L.A.s in Guntur district have made common cause with the Communists there as against the official Congressmen. In the Municipal Chairman's election at Ongale, Guntur district, the rival candidate, D. Gopalasastry, was supported by ministerialists and by the two Ministers Shri Kala Venkata Rao and K. Chandramouli according to the statement of the Taluq Congress Committee. An official Congress candidate, Shri Peerupati Venkataramaiah, who could have succeeded in the Chairman's election, was stabbed and prevented from standing. The police case for stabbing against ministerialists was later withdrawn.

The Communists on account of such conditions prevailing in the Congress ranks have been able to get some policemen and other officials also to their side and no effective action has been taken against them by the Madras Government till very recently when it has been almost too late. Many of its important leaders have got the scent of their arrests and successfully gone underground. P. Sundarayya has not been caught. P. Venkateswarlu, Communist M.L.A., is underground. A conspiracy case is being launched against some Communists for the murder and rioting on the next day of Mahatmaji's demise at Vijayawada perpetrated against the R.S.S. and others. What difficulties the police are experiencing in getting evidence on account of the above referred ministerial group's pact with the Communists, what attempts are made by that group daily in the Fort St. George to get some of the Communist accused released, and how half a dozen Communists of that conspiracy escaped from the Kaikalur Sub-Jail

need not be detailed here. The Communists in the Munagala paragona have been terrorising the Congressmen there who have been trying to keep the Congress flag flying in spite of tremendous difficulties. One important Congressman was murdered in 1947 and another's hands were removed and several Congressmen have been brutally assaulted and others' properties have been looted or destroyed. As many as eighty cases have been filed but the Communists have not been caught by the police and cases have been pending for months. The Congressmen have filed petitions to the officers and to the Government that their lives and properties are not safe at the hands of the Communists. When we visited Munagala on the 2nd instant evening, the Congress leaders who are the official Congressmen told us that Vijayawada ministerialist group who have been organising themselves in the whole district have been causing prejudice in the minds of officials against them, and trying to get the non-ministerial party Congressmen arrested on some pretext or other and at the same time to get released some of the Munagala Communists. We said that no such thing will happen even if that group tries and that they need not be afraid. Since the Hyderabad State Congress launched Satyagraha on 7th August, and as people there know that the Indian National Congress and its Governments are behind it, the State Congress acquired tremendous influence in the whole of the State and the Communists of Telangana did not know what to do. So they merely watched events for some time but as they felt that it is likely that the movement would succeed they approached the leaders of the State Congress for a united front. But they later refused to have any alliance with the Communists. The Communists started a States People's Freedom Aid Committee of their own, collected funds in Andhra towns and villages and probably got some funds also from abroad. They smuggled some arms and ammunition also and started a most violent and revolutionary movement in Telangana both against the Nizam's Military Police and goonda forces and also against the State Congress people. This they have been carrying on for the last five or six months. By political dacoities and robberies of middle class or rich people and sometimes of the banks they have been acquiring huge monies and arms and ammunition and murdering and torturing all opponents, i.e., members of the State Forces as well as members of Congress and Congress-minded people and looting and destroying their properties and raping also their women. Thus people in the State are suffering from lootings, arson, destruction of property, murders, tortures and raping of women at the hands of Nizam Military Police, Arabs, Pathans, Razakars and Muslim refugees on the one side and Andhra Communists on the other side. The Andhra Communists are using the hills and old fortresses in places like Vallabhapuram in Telangana, which is very near to Munagala paragona, as their principal base. It is said that always several hundreds of Communists live in the Vallabhapuram hills, that they have a wireless set and a printing press there, and that they store grains and keep a portion of their arms and ammunition there. They have often pitched battles with the Nizam's Forces and win. If they feel they are overpowered they run away to Munagala paragona. They use guerilla

methods. Most of the Telangana Communists have left their families and children and their properties in the Munagala paragana and go themselves into the field of action. In a paragana with a population of 28 thousand the Nizam refugees are about fifty thousand, more than two-thirds of whom are Communists or Communist-minded. The Madras Government have not done anything to prevent such an influx of Communists or Communist-minded people. In the Munagala paragana all the important villages are under the absolute sway of the local Communists reinforced by the State Communists. Some additional police are of late stationed but the Communists use the hills of the paragana also to escape from the police and plunder Congressmen. They are holding Praja Courts in the paragana and declaring judgements awarding death sentences, cutting of limbs and other such punishments on Congressmen and the Congressmen are terribly afraid. Only about 140 Communists have been arrested of late there, both of Andhra and Telangana, but what is this number compared to the thousands of Communists or Communist-minded people in that paragana. Thus conditions of Red China are prevailing in the Munagala paragana and in Telangana adjacent to it. The All India Communist Party Conference held at Calcutta in the first week of March 1948 passed a resolution extolling the red bloody revolution carried on in Telangana. The resolution said that fifteen thousand villages in Telangana have been liberated by the reds there. The Communists are believed to have amassed eighty or ninety lakhs of rupees and acquired a huge quantity of arms and ammunition and they have become a permanent danger to the Andhra Desa.

*The note bears no date.

34. *A memorandum against the Congress Ministry in Madras**

SRI KALA VENKATA RAO AND THE COMMUNISTS

(a) Active support to the Estates Land and two connected Bills was sought for by the Revenue Minister from the Communists. A Conference for its support was called in Madras in the Gokhale Hall on 7.10.47 and was organised by the Communists. Nearly 1,000 Communist delegates came to Madras from Andhra in a special train. The Chairman of the Reception Committee was one Sri N. Prasada Rao. He was later arrested. After the murder of Gandhiji and the riot which took place in Bezwada, he was arrested in connection with a murder and has since escaped from jail. Such a Conference was opened by the Revenue Minister.

The legislation itself contains provisions regarding Inams which are highly confiscatory. The Bill affects the livelihood of nearly 5 lakhs of families of middle classes owning 2 to 5 acres of land. As a class they have been persons who have taken active part in the various Congress movements for the freedom of the country. They are some of the strongest Congress supporters in this part of the

country. The Bill proposes to take away their lands giving them a ridiculously low amount of compensation. This is an unparalleled piece of legislation done at the cost of the public exchequer.

As a result of the above Bill which is now pending with the Select Committee, the whole class of people who have so loyally supported the Congress in the past will be turned as beggars. If this part of the Bill is to be followed with respect to other ryotwari areas, little sanctity will be left for the safety of private property in this Province.

(b) *Prajasakti*, the leading Communist Andhra daily, is published from Bezwada. The Revenue Minister visited its office on 19.11.1947 and a meeting was held there to celebrate the occasion and, in the speech he made there, he welcomed the participation of the Communist Party in the struggle against the Nizam.

(c) In his tour at Munagala a reception was arranged for him by the Communists when a thousand red flags greeted him. Here he addressed a public meeting with Sri Venkateswarlu, a Communist M.L.A.

In April 1947 about 200 Harijan houses were burnt at Rajahmundry in a fire accident. The local Communists took the law into their own hands and occupied a vacant land belonging to the Darbha Choultry and offered the site to the homeless people for sale on receipt of monies for the Communist Party. This land is held in trust by the Municipality for the charity above named and the land itself is fit only for paddy cultivation and totally unfit as a residential area, being waterlogged for more than six months in the year. The Communists, after such illegal occupation, named the place after the Andhra Communist Leader, 'Sundarayya Nagar'. In June 1947, the Municipal authorities took notice of the unauthorised occupation and construction of dwellings without permission from the Municipality and against all sanitation rules, and had asked the encroachers to vacate the land. The Communist Party encouraged the trespassers to resist eviction even with violence. The matter was reported by the Municipality to the police and the District Magistrate. Whilst the latter were taking active steps to vacate the trespassers, and the matter had nothing whatever to do with the Government, the Communist Party sought the help of its friend, the Revenue Minister. On petition from the encroachers to the Revenue Minister who visited the area an order was passed by Government staying the eviction and asking the Council to reconsider the matter. Plainly, the property belonged to the Choultry, the encroachment should never have been made and it was not a case in which the Government should or could have interfered to help the encroachers as against the Municipality or the police. The Municipal Council itself could not eliminate the trust property even if it wanted to. And yet the matter was stayed and is still stayed and the encroachers helped in their highhanded action by the Government and the prestige of the local Communist Party raised by the kind endeavours of the Revenue Minister.

(d) As a sample of the propaganda of the *Prajasakti* in regard to the Hyderabad struggle, a translation of its leader in Telugu column is given below:

Patel's Pact with Nizam—Munshi's Plot—Attacks on Andhra Communists

On 31st January midnight, under the leadership of the Kistna District Collector, the police raided the District and Town Communist Offices. Every thinking person is questioning himself what the reason for this sort of indiscriminate and reckless raids should be. The Government is intending to distort the facts by throwing the entire responsibility on the incidents at Bezwada after Gandhiji's death. But the matter is more deep than what it appears to be, the illustration being the fact that the Collector began arrests with a list of forty names of members of Provincial Communist Party. The main reason for this is Patel's readiness to come to a compromise with Hyderabad and his determination to launch an attack on anti-compromise forces.

(e) The Communist Party has been enacting in various places a Telugu drama called 'Ma-Bhoomi'. In the course of this drama, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is caricatured. This drama was enacted in the V.P. Hall at Madras on 2-12-47 under the kind patronage of the Revenue Minister, and on 3-12-47 in the Banqueting Hall (Madras) under the equal kind patronage of Sri Gopala Reddi.

(f) Certain extraordinary orders passed by the Revenue Minister bestowing favours on his supporters and interfering with the normal administration in his own constituency appears to have been brought to the notice of the Congress President in a printed communication dated 29-1-47 from the President of the Town Congress Committee, Amalapuram. Reference to that is also solicited.

SMUGGLING OF ARMS

A few days ago the driver of a private car, belonging to a clerk in *The Hindu* office, reported himself at a police station in the city of Madras, surrendered a box containing arms and made a statement to the police. It disclosed that the car was engaged to carry them to Vijayawada and that coupons for 24 gallons of petrol for the month of March for M.S.P. Car No. 3321 were supplied to the car by Sri Alluri Satyanarayana Hazu, M.L.A., and coupons also of Sri Kala Venkata Rao, Revenue Minister. These coupons are now in the custody of the police. The persons who were in the car had told the driver that the box contained some printing materials, and that the persons got down at a place in Mambalam. The driver suspected the contents of the box and found out that they were not printing materials but arms. Thereafter he refused to carry them any farther and took them to the police station to surrender the box and that the passengers in the car disappeared.

Sri N.S. Varadachari, M.L.A., is in full possession of the facts regarding this case.

CORRUPTION AT HIGH PLACES AND ABUSE OF POWER BY MINISTERS

(a) Two non-M.L.A.s by the name G. Brahmayya (ex-Secretary, A.P.C.) and Mr. Chetti (referred to above) obtained about 120 tons of iron and steel in the

names of 65 persons (benami) and took the permits at Madras influencing the then Director of Industries and Commerce, Mr. M.T. Raju. As a rule iron and steel permits cannot be handed over to persons but should be sent per registered post, but in this case the above persons took all the 65 permits in the benami names and got the materials at Bezwada and sold them in the open market. The above was brought to the notice of Sri D. Balaramakrishnayya, Secretary, A.P.C., who made enquiries and presented a written complaint to the Premier with the names etc. The Premier enquired into the matter and was satisfied with the complaint. Similarly one M.L.A. by the name Manthina Venkataraju obtained iron and steel permits on false applications to the extent of 50 tons. This person happens to be Mr. M.T. Raju's relation and Chandramouli's man. This has also been brought to the notice of the Premier by Sri D. Balaramakrishnayya and, after verification, the Premier was satisfied. There were several such complaints brought by Sri D. Balaramakrishnayya and on the strength of these, the D. of I. & C. was transferred to save their faces.

(b) The Dy. Steel Controller, one Mr. Savarinathan, was removed from service by the Minister for Industries on the complaint of the above persons that this information had leaked through him.

(c) One Mr. G. Narasimha Rao, an M.L.A., and Mr. Maddi Sudarsanam, M.L.C., are the managing partners of Hemalata Textiles and a vanaspati factory. They have obtained I. & S. permits under so many heads with their influence and sold them in the market. The verification required is a comparison of the amount of I. & S. issued to them and the amount used for their factory.

(d) How Sri Sitharamareddi's position as a Minister is being abused and exploited in his native district of Bellary is given in the appendix hereto. [Not included.]

(e) Sri Reddi was, before he became a Minister, a Co-Director and Company Promoter with Sri S. Parthasarathy, a leading industrialist at Madras. How the ministerial position is being used to promote their joint commercial and industrial interests has often figured in the Madras Press and requires a separate enquiry by itself.

(f) The Minister has been freely withdrawing cases of criminal prosecutions pending in Courts in respect of breach of Control Orders in order to favour his supporters (particularly M.L.A.s) thus defeating the ends of justice while not doing so in the case of large numbers of other cases where the accused have not utilised such agencies. In some of these cases the pity is that the local officers had taken enormous pains to prosecute and withstood all temptations of bribes, but the Minister has withdrawn even such cases.

(g) The quota allotted to Sri Ramnath Goenka three or four times more than his requirements became the subject matter of a number of questions on the floor of the Legislature. This was done immediately after the present Ministry came into office in 1947, as a reward for his support of the Ministry.

BUS PERMITS—CHINGLEPUT DISTRICT

A similar case to that of the Bellary case is one from Chingleput district. Sri C.N. Muthuranga Mudaliar, M.L.C., is a Member of the Provincial Traffic Board. He is the uncle of Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam, Minister for Public Works and Roads. Sri O.V. Alagesan is the Managing Director of Tripurasundari Bus Co. and a Member of the Constituent Assembly. He is the brother-in-law of Sri M. Bhaktavatsalam and he is also a partner of a Bus Transport Company in Chingleput district. He made an application for certain bus routes which had been previously given to another company by name Gandhi Bus Transport Ltd. It would appear that he had not the requisite number of buses required under the rules and there was no case to cancel the routes which had already been allotted to the other company. Yet, however, on account of his relationship with the Minister and with the Member of the Traffic Board, he was favoured. The matter was raised on the floor of the Assembly as well as Council.

ABUSE OF RENT CONTROL ACT

A building belonging to Sri Ramnath Goenka, the Managing Proprietor of *Indian Express* at Madras, and which is situated at Mount Road, has been under the tenancy of Bosoto Limited and used as a Lodging and Boarding House for more than 30 years. Bosoto Ltd. used to pay a monthly rental of Rs.2,000.

In Madras there is in force an Act called the House Rent Control Act, under the terms of which rent could be enhanced only to a particular percentage. The landlord demanded a higher rent, nearly three times more than the existing rent and on refusal by the tenant, he was asked to vacate the house on the ground that he wanted it for his own purposes; but the tenant did not vacate. Then the matter went up to the City Rent Controller who, after an examination of all the circumstances, decided that Rs.2,000 was a fair and proper rent and that the tenant could not be ejected and that the plea of the landlord that he wanted the house for his own purposes was not bona fide. The landlord went to the City Civil Court for a revision of the order. There too the same rent was confirmed.

Those were days when some members of the Legislature formed into a group and were working to throw down the Prakasam Ministry and Sri Ramnath Goenka in his paper gave a great deal of support and publicity to them and to their activities. It so happened that the previous Ministry came to an end and the present Ministry came into office in the latter part of March 1947. Sri Ramnath Goenka soon afterwards put in a petition before the Minister in charge of House Rent Control for possession of the House and, as a reward for the great support which the Ministry had been receiving from him, section 8 of the Act was invoked and misused to set at naught the effect of the order of the City Civil Court confirming the decision of the Rent Controller. Section 8 is to the effect that any house might be exempted from the operation of the provisions of the Act. This section, which was obviously intended to exempt a house from the operation of

the Act for some possible Governmental purposes, was thus used to favour Sri Ramnath Goenka and immediately thereafter he gave notice of ejectment to the tenant which, without the decontrolling of the house rent, he could not do. The matter is now pending before the Court.

CORRUPTION IN THE ISSUE OF PERMITS FOR CEMENT

(1) Permits for the issue of cement to Srimati Syamala Devi, wife of Sri Kurmayya, the Minister for Rural Development, ostensibly in the name of a company called Anjani Devi Cement Works, Bezwada, have been issued month after month. No such firm has been doing real business but the permit has been given for the benefit of the aforesaid lady and is being utilised to sell the cement in the black market.

(2) Similarly, permits are issued in the name of the Harijan & Co., Bezwada, for the benefit of Sri Tirumalayya, maternal uncle of the said Minister.

(3) Similar permits are issued for cement in favour of Matangi Rudrakhudu, another maternal uncle of the same Minister.

(4) It is understood that there are about 15 persons in Bezwada who have obtained permits for cement on the recommendation of the same Minister but who have not yet applied for any building permits to the Municipality but who have got the cement only for black marketing.

MATTERS RELATING TO THE PURCHASE OF ITALIAN BUSES AND LORRIES

(a) Under the guise of nationalisation of motor transport in Madras, the Ministry has purchased 25 Italian diesel buses at a cost of about Rs. 1/2 lakh for each bus. This has created a scandal in the Province. The make of the buses is *Freshini* made in Milan in Italy. This make is hitherto unknown in India. Actually tenders for diesel buses were called for and published in the Madras and all-India papers. But before the data could be fixed and tenders made or opened, this private transaction was entered into by Mr. David Thomas, the Minister in charge, with an alleged firm called the Indo-British General Exchange of Bangalore. Except for a board and a single room in Bangalore, the firm never did motor business at Bangalore and the proprietor is running a cinema concern. Private correspondence seems to have taken place between the Minister and this man and the order was placed for 25 buses at the aforesaid price of Rs. 1/2 lakh for each. The price is exorbitant and the purchase should not have been made. The whole price of 25 buses has been paid out by Government already even though only 6 or 7 buses have come and the others have yet to come. Why was the deal entered into in this secret manner when there are several well-known firms in the line who could have offered competitive prices? A definitely better and well-known diesel British-made bus 'The Commet' can be had for Rs. 17,500; if a foreign body, Rs. 8,000 at the most, and if Indian, Rs. 6,000 would be the extra. Thus for about Rs. 25,000 a bus could have been purchased. The price paid for

this Italian make is therefore exorbitant and unconscionable. It is not known what arrangements have been made for supply of spare parts for these buses for which there is no proper or real agency at all in India which has stocked its spare parts.

After the first deal, the Minister placed another order for 25 buses of the same make but after the scandal became known, the second order appears to have been cancelled by the Premier after interpellations on the subject were sent by Members. The whole matter has to be gone into carefully to see the amount of public money wasted and the amount of secret profits made in this business.

(b) In the name of the same nationalisation for ordinary petrol lorries, 75 bus bodies were got built at a cost of Rs.8,000 each from Messrs. Simpson & Co., Madras, and 75 at Rs.7,000 from Messrs. General Motors Ltd., Bombay. The bodies built by General Motors are much better than those built by Messrs. Simpson. The latter have already begun to rattle.

After these points were elicited in the Legislature, the Government have taken up the body building work themselves and say that they can build the bodies at a rate of Rs.4,000 only. The loss on this account is very considerable and should be further scrutinised as to why such large and differing amounts were paid and to what extent secret profits were made.

(c) When the above and other scandals in the motor transport department became widely known, it was said the Premier wanted to get rid of Mr. Thomas from the Ministry. But since his re-election and the resignation of Dr. Subbarayan, he has given him the additional portfolio of Law also.

A THOROUGHLY COMMUNAL MINISTRY

The present Ministry, soon after it came into office, took to a vigorous anti-Brahmin drive in the Secretariat; its aim was said to man the Secretariat with non-Brahmins, retaining Brahmins only where it could not be helped. The Food Secretary was asked to go soon after the new Ministry was formed because of his being a Brahmin and having served under Mr. Prakasam. Another I.C.S. man who was Joint Secretary in the Public Health Department was asked to go out as a District Collector, but he put up a fight with the result that he was changed from Public [Health] Department to the Revenue Department. We are told that in the presence of officials, the Premier and some other Ministers used freely to talk of the anti-Brahmin drive, so that it became the free talk in the city—in clubs, in buses and in trams. It was only as part of this policy that the post of the Chief Secretary to Government was sought to be abolished altogether, seeing that that was the only way to get rid of a Brahmin incumbent, Sir S.V. Ramamurthy; when he retired the idea of abolishing the post was abandoned. Of course reasons other than the real one were given out both for making the proposal and dropping it. It was also a part of this policy that some of the Secretaries of P.C.C. Societies started during Prakasam's Ministry were asked to quit. Most of them were highly qualified men and men who had taken part in the C.D. movements.

Similarly persons appointed as Village Development Officers under the Firka Development Scheme were also dispensed with, ostensibly on the basis of an unpublished report of the Chief Whip of the Party, Sri Bapi Needu.

The strong communalism of the Ministry caused a revulsion of feeling in the minds of those that had worked for its installation. Sri T.T. Krishnamachari, Member of the Constituent Assembly, and *The Hindu* of Madras among others came out openly and commented on this policy, which beat that of the Justice Party of olden days. At the same time, *Liberator*, exponent of anti-Brahmin creed, began praising the Ministry on its communal policy. The permanent officials have taken a cue from the top and now throughout there is nothing but communal spirit exhibited on all possible occasions, and in open and subtle ways, in the day-to-day administration. This, added to the avowedly anti-Brahmin G.O.s regarding admissions into colleges—which started first with Government professional colleges but is now extended to all colleges and institutions—has created an atmosphere in the Province which is choking not merely public life but throttling efficiency and merit at a time when we could ill-afford to lose them. When answering interpellations or making statements on the floor of the Assembly the members of the Government not merely admit the caste and communal discriminations but take pride in doing so.

In the Province of Madras, at a time when Congress boycotted legislatures during 1920-26, the Justice Party in power developed this communalism and issued G.O.s fixing proportions for Brahmins and 'Non-Brahmins', Muslims, Christians and scheduled classes first at the stage of first entry into service; in practice this is applied at the stage of promotions, and even in the case of selection posts by a sort of convention. Such recruitment, promotion and selection even with regard to listed posts naturally affected the morale of qualified men and reduced efficiency of services. But the Justice Party stopped with services, and were content with some Advisory Councils to regulate selection of students seeking admission into Government colleges to reflect the communal proportions. When the Congress came into power in 1937, with C.R. as the Premier, those Councils were abolished and the Government merely issued instructions to admitting authorities to see that all communities are fairly represented in making admissions. This policy was slightly altered during the Advisers' regime when instructions were issued that certain communal proportions should be observed. This resulted in the rejection of hundreds of Brahmin students holding higher marks while several non-Brahmins holding much lower marks were admitted. It amounted almost to a scandal. A perusal of the newspapers of the months of June and July 1944 and 1945 would disclose the position of the public opinion of the day. Finding no hope a college, Vivekananda College, was started at Madras to find asylum to these highly qualified boys rejected on the ground of their birth.

It was at this stage that the Prakasam Ministry came into office and in order to set right a fundamental wrong, although it could not go as far as it wished, issued a G.O. that in Government professional colleges, the previous instructions to

observe communal ratio in admission of students should be modified to the extent that 20% of the seats should first be filled-up on the basis of merit and the rest on the communal proportion. The Education Minister who was the same as the present one, yielded against his will but did everything to undermine the step taken by the Government. He naturally found allies in the old Justice Party friends and journals and a good number of Congress members of the Legislature who could not shed their non-Brahminism in spite of their being in the Congress for a long time; and when Prakasam's Ministry was overthrown, one of the first acts of the present Ministry was not merely to cancel the previous instructions regarding reservation of 20% for merit but issued a Government Order fixing communal proportions for admission of students not only in professional colleges but all other colleges also, and recently the Minister has issued instructions to non-Government colleges also to observe the communal ratio with regard to the admission of students.

The Ministry has blatantly become communal giving a go-by to the principles of the Congress and to all that we have stood for all these long years of our fight for the independence of our country.

BOGUS ENROLMENT ON UNAUTHORISED FORMS OF FOUR-ANNA CONGRESS MEMBERS IN THE DISTRICTS OF GUNTUR, KISTNA, WEST GODAVARI, AND VIZAGAPATAM

It is already within the knowledge of the Congress President that these members were enrolled in spite of the warnings given by the President of the Andhra P.C.C. and the Secretaries of the A.I.C.C. that such unauthorised forms should not be used.

These forms and a cheque for Rs.24,000 and odd were presented to the Congress Secretary at Delhi in December last by one Mr. Chetti of Bezwada.

Mr. Chetti is the right-hand man of the Revenue Minister and his name will appear elsewhere also in this memorandum.

Enquiries made by the Andhra P.C.C. show that many of the so-called members never signed the forms, did not pay the fees and were blissfully ignorant of the honour conferred on them. The large amount of Rs.24,000 and odd was given by a cheque drawn by Mr. Venkata Rao on his current account in Madras, which was cashed on or about 12-12-47 by the Punjab National Bank. An enquiry will show how and from where all this money came into his hands within a short space of 5 or 6 days whilst he himself had no connection whatsoever with the work of enrolment of Congress members and should not have had any hand in it as a Minister.

MINISTER FOR INDUSTRIES AND HIS RELATIVES

1. The brother-in-law of Sri H. Sitharamareddy is one H. Lingareddy, an advocate at Bellary. He is the President of the Bellary Central Cooperative

Stores. When the Pioneer Corps was disbanded in Bellary after the termination of the war in 1945, there were several articles such as Bangalore tiles, beams, and rafters in their custody. Sri H. Lingareddy put in an application to the military authorities of Delhi on a letterhead of the Bellary Central Cooperative Stores in which his name was printed as the President giving an offer of a sum of Rs.16,000 for the articles remaining in the military stores which were worth about Rs.1 lakh. The military authorities being under the impression that the application had been made by him in his capacity as President of Bellary Central Cooperative Stores accepted the offer and sold the articles to him for Rs.16,000. The name of the purchaser finally shown was one Hanumantha Reddy who is another brother-in-law of his. These articles were brought to the premises of the B.C.C. Stores and stored there and sold for about a lakh of rupees and thus a private profit of about Rs.80,000 was made out of this transaction. No action has been taken on this huge fraud.

2. For the year ending with 30th June 1946, the stocks remaining in the Bellary Central Cooperative Stores were, according to the books, about Rs.10 lakhs and Rs.50,000 (Rs.10,50,000) whereas the inspection of the stocks disclosed a shortage of about Rs.2 lakhs and Rs.25,000 (Rs.2,25,000). This fact is obtained from the report of a Sub-Committee that had been appointed by the B.C.C. Stores to investigate into the shortage that had occurred during that year. A copy of the report of this Sub-Committee was unofficially handed over by Sri B. Bhima Rao, M.L.C., to the Collector of the district who sent the same to the Registrar of Cooperative Societies. But no action was taken thereon.

Again on the 29th June 1947, the Collector of the District ordered the inspection of stocks in the B.C.C. Stores and its various branches by the Tahsildars of each Taluk in view of the report of the Sub-Committee referred to above. The inspection disclosed a shortage of 8% in the stocks held, which is of considerable value. This percentage was considerably higher than the general average and disclosed that considerable quantities of foodgrains are surreptitiously removed from the B.C.C. Stores.

3. Towards the end of July 1947, the District Supply Officer of Bellary stopped 4 lorries of foodgrains that were being transported from Halharve in Alur Taluk, the native village of the Minister, towards the Kurnool district on the frontiers of Bellary-Kurnool districts. Some of the lorries belong to M. Somappa who was partner of Mr. H. Sitharamareddy before he became a Minister. Expeditious investigation of this case could not be made inasmuch as the accused were the relations of the Minister. The Munsif of the village would not give any help and had to be suspended by the Collector. Subsequent searches in the village disclosed that enormous quantities of foodgrains, especially rice which is not at all grown in the village as it is a dry area, were stocked in the village and considerable quantities had been stored in the house of a woman who refused to furnish any particulars as to how the foodgrains came to be stocked in her house. After a delay of 3 months and especially after the Minister visited Bellary along with another, Sri K.M. Menon, and after they were heckled about these

matters in an open meeting, a criminal case had been launched against the drivers and owners of the lorries but not against the real culprits who had sold the foodgrains against the rules then in force; but the cases are still pending. These would show that considerable stocks of foodgrains are removed from the B.C.C. Stores and stored in Halharve and sales effected there and the goods removed stealthily at nights.

4. Permit for 2,000 bags of cement has been given to the father-in-law of Sri H. Sitharamareddy and for a considerably large number of bags in the names of other merchants of Adoni benami for him.

5. Under the rules framed under the Motor Vehicles Act, the Union Bus Service Company Limited of Uravakonda in Anantapur district applied for a permit for plying their motor bus for hire from Adoni to Uravakonda via Alur and Guntakal. Machani Somappa, partner of Sri H. Sitharamareddy, also applied for the permit. The Road Traffic Board of Bellary granted a permit in favour of the U.B. Service Company Limited. M. Somappa preferred an appeal to the Central Traffic Board, Madras, who confirmed the decision of the Regional Traffic Authority. The Hon'ble Minister for Transport purporting to act under rule 150 of the Motor Vehicles Rules set aside the decision of the Central Traffic Board and directed the Regional Traffic Authority, Bellary, to reconsider the matter and granted a temporary permit in favour of M. Somappa, partner of Sri H. Sitharamareddy. Meanwhile, the Madras High Court held that the Government has no power to interfere with the decision of the Central Traffic Board under Rule 150 which was ultra vires. When the judgment was produced before the Regional Traffic Authority, Bellary, and they were asked to follow the ruling of the Madras High Court and confirmed their original decision, they have referred to the Central Traffic Board and to the Government for instructions as to how they should proceed. This was about two months ago. But the Government have not sent them any instructions and they introduced a Bill in the Assembly for providing for a second appeal to the Government against appellate decisions given by the Central Traffic Board and for validating all the irregular acts committed by them since September 1946 in the manner mentioned above. All this interference with the judicial functions of the Statutory Boards is due to the fact that Sri M. Somappa is a partner of Sri H. Sitharamareddy and commands considerable influence. An interpellation was asked in the Madras Legislative Council asking for details of cases wherein the decisions of the Central Traffic Board on appeal were set aside by Government. But they have replied that the trouble involved is so great that the details asked for cannot be furnished. On account of the irregular interference with the functions of statutory authorities, which was referred to in the speech of the late Chief Justice Gentle of the Madras High Court, the Ministry has been obliged to undertake legislation to amend the Motor Vehicles Act of 1939 (Act of Central Legislature) and incorporate a section therein conferring a right of second appeal on the Local Government and for giving retrospective effect as from September 1946.

NO CABINET GOVERNMENT—DR. SUBBARAYAN'S CASE

The Premier seems to think that he can pass any orders he likes in any Department ignoring his colleagues, thus virtually reducing Cabinet Government to a farce. For this purpose he set up a separate Secretariat after August 15, 1947. According to well-understood Cabinet practice in England and as observed by Ivor Jennings in his book on Cabinet Government, the Premier is only the first amongst equals. If he differs on any important point it is for him to persuade his colleague to agree with him or to have the matter decided in the Cabinet or in a grave case even to ask for the resignation of his colleague. But it is certainly not Cabinet Government to get files from any Department, interview the head of a Department without the knowledge of the Minister and issue any orders he likes without the concurrence or even the knowledge of the Minister concerned. But this has been going on systematically in the Madras Cabinet now. His colleagues in the Ministry who ought to resist such a thing do not do so for the simple reason that they are clinging to office at any cost.

The case of Dr. Subbarayan and his resignation about which so much has appeared in the Press is a definite instance of this. Dr. Subbarayan in his recent statement to the Press said that the Premier was interviewing the head of the Police Department and issuing orders without his knowledge.

It will outrage all sense of decency if it is also known that not only was Mr. Reddiar doing the above with regard to Dr. Subbarayan but had even set up the C.I.D. against him to go through his accounts in the Banks and see how he had paid up his debts. If he had any doubts on the matter, he could have honestly and straightforwardly asked the Doctor about it. The C.I.D. was in charge of Dr. Subbarayan. To set up his own department against him is an outrage upon all sense of decency and subversive of all democracy. This was disclosed by Dr. Subbarayan at a meeting of his group of Congress members (known as the Rajaji Group which was dissolved that night) held on the night previous to the Leader's election on 26-3-48 and appeared in a Tamil paper the next morning.

In this connection it may be remembered that in November last the Police portfolio was taken from Dr. Subbarayan for about a fortnight without his knowledge and retransferred to him after a good deal of wrangling and publicity about it both in the Press and in the Legislature bringing discredit to the Congress.

PREMIER AND THE LEGISLATURE

Another chief failure of the democratic principle and what is gravely dissatisfying the members of the Legislature as a whole, and through them the public, is the utter incapacity and unwillingness of the Premier to face the Legislature with regard to his actions as a Minister and Premier. In a big Province consisting of four linguistic groups, it is utterly impossible for any man to become a Premier and handle administration and the Legislature properly and with confidence and inspire trust and confidence in the people, if he cannot either

understand what is said by members or make himself understood. Till his resignation Dr. Subbarayan was trying to shield the Premier by answering the questions for him, moving demands for him on the budget, and in all other matters.

The Legislature is entitled to have the benefit at every stage of the actual experience of administration of the Minister either in answering questions or in replying to the more important matters and speaking on it with the requisite administrative knowledge. It is simply unthinkable to us how in any democratic regime the Premier can continuously absent himself from the Legislature and act only by proxy. This has evoked the contempt of members of the Opposition and that of even the members of the Party apart from the public outside. If he had the patience at least to hear the criticisms of members on the vagaries and wrongs of his colleagues and of the administration, he would have known things better. But even that he does not care to do.

Intolerable as the position was before Dr. Subbarayan resigned, since his resignation and since the taking up of the most important portfolio of Home by the Premier himself, the position has become still worse.

LOANS GIVEN BY GOVERNMENT

1. Rs.10 lakhs by way of loan from Government has been recently given to the Sudarshan Oil Mills Ltd. at Katpadi. The Directors are T. Rami Reddi, father-in-law of the Minister, T. Pattabhirama Reddi, brother-in-law, and two other Directors are the Minister's brothers-in-law (wife's sisters' husbands). The Company has been allowed by Government to double its production and the above loan has been granted under the State Aid to Industries Act. The aforesaid persons are extremely well-to-do and there are even so many other similar factories and it is a pure abuse of the ministerial position to have granted the Company this large amount. The Company manufactures 'vanaspati' whose utility is still under investigation.

2. A similar loan of Rs.1 lakh has been given to the Mohan Industries Ltd., Tenali. The Company is to manufacture bricks, tiles, etc., and has little or no equipment at present. Its share capital is Rs.5 lakhs and its Directors are:

1. Maddi Sudarshanam, M.L.C.
2. Sri P.L.N. Raju, M.L.A.
3. Sri M. Venkatarajan, M.L.A.

The advertisement showing this Government loan by way of patronage appears in the *Andhra Patrika* on 30-3-48, 4 days after the Leader's election.

THE MINISTRY

Having formed a Ministry only from one group of the Party and never having the confidence of the Assembly as a whole or of the people generally outside, the

Ministry has been continuously trying to placate members, each Minister having a clique or cliques of his own and trying to favour them from time to time in administration. Speaking generally, week after week these members have been approaching the Ministry for orders to set at naught the orders of the district heads and even the provincial heads of Departments.

It is truly said that some members even go to the private parties to obtain such favourable orders from Ministers. Orders have been passed from time to time in almost every Department with a view to placate these followers and retain their hold. Members of the ministerial group have been influencing and even intimidate if the district officials do what they want. And the recent Press statement of the Premier issued first after his re-election assuring promotion of officials against the pressure of politicians shows the extent to which the evil has existed all along the present regime. The statement is a mere eye-wash as the Premier himself has been using his power for partisan purposes.

*The memorandum bears no date.

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